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THE ANCIENT INDIAN ROYAL CONSECRATION

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J. GONDA

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THE ANCIENT INDIAN ROYAL CONSECRATION

THE RĀJASŪYA DESCRIBED ACCORDING TO THE YAJUS TEXTS AND ANNOTED

BY

J. C. HEESTERMAN

MOUTON & CO 1957 'S GRAVENHAGE

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TO THE MEMORY OF

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possible it has proved impracticable to avoid them altogether. These, as well as general information on the Vedic sacrifice, may be found in the works listed in the Bibliography, where I have compiled the indispensable instruments for the study of Vedic ritual.

The Vedic ritual was meant to be performed, heard and seen by those qualified, certainly not to be read. Already at the time when the description of the Agniṣṭoma was published by Caland and Henry, the wish was expressed to have photographic recordings of the ritual proceedings as well. I may therefore call attention to the film and sound recordings made by Dr J. A. B. van Buitenen of a revivalistic performance of the vājapeya at Poona, which cover the whole paradigma of the Soma sacrifice. It is to be hoped that this initiative will meet with a wide response, so as to contribute to the general understanding of ancient Indian religion.

INTRODUCTION

In the ancient Indian corpus rituale the rajasuya did not represent a special type of sacrifice, nor was it surrounded with the pomp and prestige of the horse sacrifice, the asvamedha, the king of sacrifices" From the point of view of the Vedic ritualist it consisted of a series of *ekāhas* (one-day Soma sacrifices) alternating with *iṣṭis* (offerings of cakes and porridge) and an occasional animal sacrifice all of a common type and only modified by the simple insertion of special rites such as the unction the chariot drive, the dicing ceremony and the use of some special formulas The king who is consecrated – not inaugurated, as I shall presently argue – by this ritual is for the Vedic ritualist nothing more than a common sacrificer, *yajamana* , and is in the texts almost exclusively referred to as such It is not the king but the sacrifice on which the attention is focussed His being practically put on a par with the common sacrificer does, however, not detract from his royal dignity The śrauta sacrifice and especially the Soma sacrifice is imbued with the idea of kingship and the common Soma sacrificer, whose consecration (dikṣa) strikingly resembles the royal unction rites seems to have had the king as his prototype The study of the rajasuya therefore not only implies the study of the śrauta ritual as a whole but even offers a point of vantage for it

The *śrauta* ritual as known to us *represents* a highly *refined* and systematized code of basic elements (manipulations, formulas, liturgical performances, gifts to the officiants) which are composed into uniform patterns which by means of altering replacing or adding one or more elements can be adapted to the circumstances The basic pattern is the iṣṭi the preparation and offering of one or more cakes or *bowls of porridge* Along the same lines the animal sacrifice is built up, more complicated is the Soma sacrifice, the pressing of the Soma plant and the offering of the sap, in which liturgical performances (stotras and śastras) take a prominent part, but generally speaking its ritual again presents the same pattern The amount of abstraction and *systematization* involved in the development of the ritual can be seen for instance in the śunasīriya iṣṭi which will be discussed in the course of the present work Obviously the śunasīriya iṣṭi was originally a rite connected with ploughing

the help of what is nowadays known about Indian thought and the history of religion in general, he must have been biased in his view of ancient Indian kingship by the ideals and conditions of his own time and surroundings, those of the Wilhelminic Germany Measured by these standards the ancient Indian king as represented in the rājasūya ritual must necessarily appear as a sadly priest-ridden heir of what he considers to have been the Aryan king, his "kuhne Beutezuge" have been turned by the priests into a "Persiflage", the ritual chariot drive, his part of the Soma beverage has been pilfered from him, he is even beaten by the priests The notion of sacral kingship,[3] the regenerative effect of festivals and chariot drives or races etc, the ritual significance of heating were not common property in his days, even the views of his compatriot Mannhardt, which to a great extent might have helped him in understanding the rituals involved, were far from being generally accepted The Vedic ritual texts give all the information necessary for the understanding of the ritual Weber, however, looks on their statements only as priestly theories, wholly divorced from popular cult and belief, which latter preserved, in contrast to the priestly ritual, the true spirit of Aryan kingship, that is his own Wilhelminic conception of kingship projected into Aryan prehistory The priests admitted popular rites into the ritual, but "die Priester sind uberall und stets so klug gewesen dem Volkswillen sich zu beugen, haben dann aber dem Dinge auch stets ein Mäntelchen umzuhängen gewusst" (p 25)

The exploration of the Vedic texts and of Vedic thought has progressed since Weber's time and by now we are in a position better to understand their value They enable us to see the world through the eyes of the Vedic Indian himself, for, though mostly the work of ritualists, they represent a reliable cross-section of the trends of thought at that time, otherwise they could not have met with so wide a response in the development of Indian thought In the light of these texts the crucial problem of the relation king-brahmin, for which I refer especially to the discussion on the devasū offerings, should be stated in terms quite different from the subjugation of the royal power by the priestly authority The present study will

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of the rājasūya', *I H Q*, 19,4 (1943), K M Panikkar, *Origin and evolution of kingship in India* (Baroda, 1938)

[3] Weber was, however, aware of the divinity of the ancient Indian king as every student of Indian culture perforce must be, when he surmises that the word *deva-* in *deva-su-* means king (p 29) For the relevant facts with regard to the divine character of ancient Indian kingship cf J Gonda, "Ancient Indian Kingship", *Numen*, 3, pp 36-71, 122-55 (to be continued), E W Hopkins, "The divinity of kings", *JAOS*, 51 (1931), pp 309-316

dīkṣā to be reborn out of the sacrifice [6] The king in the rajasuya does likewise, and it will be seen that the successive stages of the rājasuya represent the ever repeated cosmic births In the first place it should be noticed that, when we render rājasuya by ' royal consecration", it is by no means comparable to our ideas of a coronation or consecration performed once and for all, by virtue of which a person is made into a king It is explicitly stated that it is to be performed by a king who wants to obtain access to heaven (*svargakama*) [7] The rajasuya seems to have been orig inally a yearly repeated rite of cosmic regeneration and rebirth, not unlike the Hindu seasonal festivals, the utsavas [8] This can still be seen in the form of the rajasuya known to us, when we consider the framework and the apparent role of the year's turning in it

In the descriptions of the rajasuya its central moment, the unction festival is always preceded by a year This year is ritually marked by the four monthly sacrifices (cāturmasyas) An alternative way of marking this year is a year long dikṣa Both patterns are used by Āp (18, 12, 1) and Hir (13, 5, 1) who have first a caturmasya year followed by a dikṣa year [9]

Though there is no uniform opinion in the Vedic texts on the beginning of the year,[10] it seems that in general the year was considered to begin in spring, the caturmasyas, when they are performed as an independent sacrifice, were begun in the spring months Phalguna or Caitra [11] TS 7, 4, 8, discussing the different dates for beginning the year long sacrificial session (gavam ayana) mentions the month Phalguna and Caitra and the 8th day after full moon in the preceding month (Magha)

[6] Cf such passages as ŚB 3 2 1 [1] 3 40 4 4, 2 9 AB 6 9 8 MS 3 6 7 68 16 ChU 3 17 5

[7] Cf Āp 18 8 1 Hir 13 3 1 Weber p 7–8 gives more examples but tries to save the rājasuya s alleged character as royal installation ceremony

[8] Cf J Gonda Skt *utsava* festival *India Antiqua* (presented to J Ph Vogel) (Leyden 1947) p 149 ff That the rājasuya originally may have been a regularly repeated e g annual or an occas onal, quicken ng rite undergone by kings was al ready supposed by F W Thomas (ERE, 1 p 23) Hindustic India knew also a yearly repeated unction rite the Puṣyasnāna, to be performed in the month Pauṣya cf Varāhamih ra Bṛhatsaṃhitā 48 82.

[9] Vait 36 6 marks the year preceding the unction by the ten saṃsṛp offerings which in the Yajurveda bridge the interval between the unction festival and the daśapeya The cāturmāsyas follow in the Vait (36 9) after the unction There seem to have been at least two oppos ng patterns, one with Soma ritual and one without. The Soma ritual seems to have increasingly asserted its rights. Thus we find at the beginning of the rājasūya a series of iṣṭis introducing the unction year and also an introductory Soma festival not mentioned in the brāhmaṇas of the Yajurveda (TB 1 8 7 1 mentions it, but only at the end of its expos tion of the rājasūya in an appendix)

[10] Cf Macdonell Keith *V I* 2,157

[11] Āp 8 1 2 Hir 5 1 1 Śāṅkh. 3 13 1–2 Vait. 8 8 Schrader Nehring *RIA* I, 525

Let us now consider the time table of Baudhayana, Kātyāyana and Hiranyakeśin (Āpastamba makes no stipulations on this matter)

Baudhāyana gives the days with great precision [12] New-moon day at the beginning of Phālguna or Caitra dikṣā for the introductory Soma festival, on the 7th day the Soma sacrifice (Baudh 12, 1 85 2–3) Then 8 iṣṭis (Anumati etc) during the rest of the first half month On the full moon day (Phālguna or Caitra) beginning of the caturmāsya offerings, ending a year later on the same day (12, 2–3) During seven days "connecting" iṣṭis (*samtani-*) The rest of the half month till the end of Phālguna or Caitra a series of iṣṭis (indraturiya etc , devikā havirniṣi, trisamyukta, Vaiśvanara and Varuṇa iṣṭis) (12, 3–4) In the next month (Caitra or Vaisākha) during twelve days the twelve ratnin offerings During the rest of the month the dikṣā and upasad days preceding the unction Soma festival which is to take place on the new moon day (at the end) of the month (12, 7 93 12–14) On the same day the first of the ten saṃsṛp iṣṭis is performed (p 111 15) The seventh and eighth (vol 3, p 272 12f) of these istis are performed on the same day, so that (vol 2, p 112 7–18) on the 9th day of the light half of Vaiśakha or Jyaiṣṭha the daśapeya is performed Then follow the disām aveṣṭayah, the double animal sacrifice, the satyaduta havirniṣi, the first series of 6 prayujaṃ havirniṣi, and on the full moon day of Vaisakha or Jyaiṣṭha the second series of 6 prayujam havirnisi (p 116 5) Then follow twelve days, during which (p 116 10) special rules (*vrata*) are to be observed, and the dikṣā and upasad days for the kesavapaniya On the full moon day of Jyaiṣṭha or Āṣāḍha the keśavapaniya festival Half a month later on the new-moon day and the following day the two-day festival vyuṣṭi is performed (p 117 16) Next come three dikṣā and three upasad days for the concluding Soma festival, taking place on the 8th of the light half of Asāḍha or Śrāvaṇa (p 118 3) On the 9th and the 10th two series of the devikahavirniṣi, on the 11th the traidhatavīya iṣṭi, on the 12th 14th day preparation for the sautrāmani The sautrāmani takes place on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha or Śrāvana The whole adds up to sixteen and a half months (p 118 7) Or, according to Śāṅkh, who takes the keśavapanīya as the

[12] A difficulty is raised by the fact that there seems to be no fixed rule, whether the beginning and the end of the month were marked by the full moon sacrifice (*purṇi mānta-*) or by the new moon sacrifice (*āmānta-*) (cf Macdonell-Keith *V I*, 2, p 158) A clear instance of the purnimānta system is PB 18 11,8 whereas the corresponding passage TB 1 8,10,2 adheres to the āmānta system. For the sake of brevity I have taken the dates to refer to the āmanta system.

close of the rājasūya, there are fifteen and a half months (vol 3, p 274 5)

Kātyayana Some confusion is occasioned by the term *māghīpakṣayajaniya* (15, 1, 3) which here can only mean a "day fit for sacrifice at the end of the preceding month Magha", i e at the beginning of Phalguna This expression is used for the beginning of the dīkṣā for the introductory Soma festival This festival, together with its dīksa and upasad days and the iṣṭis for Anumati etc, fills out the first, light, half of the month Phālguna On the new moon day in the middle of the month the cāturmāsyas are begun The cāturmasyas end on the first day of Phalguna in the next year (15, 1, 17–19) The first half of Phalguna is filled out with iṣtis (indraturiya etc) On the *phalgunipakṣayajaniya* the dikṣā for the unction festival is undertaken (15, 3, 49) Weber explains this as above after completion of the *dark* (second) half of Phalguna It seems however unreasonable to assume, as also the commentory does, that *pakṣa* should only mean the dark half month, it simply is the relevant half month, in this case the light (first) half of Phalguna Thus the unction festival with its dīksā and upasad days begins on the full moon day of Phalguna and ends on the fifth of the second half of this month (15, 4, 2) The samsrp iṣtis follow, the daśapeya is due at the end of Phālguna on the new moon day Thus we obtain a block of thirteen months, which, as will be seen, is an adequate symbol for the full time cycle, without the hiatus which Weber (p 27) presumes

As to the date of the following Soma festival, the keśavapanīya, Katy voices two opinions The first, also represented by SB, prescribes that it takes place a year after the noction (and daśapeya) festivals, the intervening year is filled out by the 12 prayugghavimsi, performed with monthly intervals (15, 8, 28 9, 26, ŚB 5, 5, 3, 2) In this case the kesavapanīya marks the end of the whole rajasuya (15, 9, 26) These iṣtis can also be performed on two subsequent days, and it seems that in this case the kesavapanīya is to take place on (the next) full moon day (probably Caitra) (15, 9, 20) On the subsequent two full moon days then follow the first day of the two day festival vyuṣṭi, and the one day festival ksatrasya dhrti (15, 9, 22–25) In the next following half month the sautramani sacrifice is to be performed

Hiranyakesin adheres to another system He gives the central place to the full moon day in the month Taisa "a month and five days before the full moon day in the month Taiṣa he begins the dīksa (for the introductory Soma sacrifice), in order that the dikṣā for the unction

festival may begin on the full moon day in the month Taiṣa of the next year" (13, 3, 2-3) [13] Thus the following scheme obtains

11-15 Mārgaśīrṣa introductory Soma-sacrifice,
16 Anumati-offerings,
24 beginning of the cāturmāsyas, then during ten days a number of iṣṭis (indraturiya etc.), as above,
15 Taiṣa beginning of the unction dīkṣā. On the last ten days of the dīkṣā year the unction festival, the saṃsṛps, and the daśapeya are due

It is not clear, whether the daśapeya should be performed on the full moon day of Taiṣa, followed in the dark half of this month by the diśām aveṣṭayaḥ, the double animal sacrifice the sātyadūta haviṃṣi, and the two series of prayujām haviṃṣi or that these iṣṭis together with the unction and daśapeya festivals fill out one (the light) half of Taiṣa (cf Baudh and Varaha ŚS 3 3 4 23-39, where the half month of unction and daśapeya is completed by these iṣṭis) After a year, in which each morning and evening the agnihotra is performed and no hair cutting is done, the keśavapaniya Soma festival is performed (13 7, 27-29) followed by the two-day vyuṣṭi festival the first day of which may be placed on the new moon day at the end of the following half month (13 7, 33) Five days later the kṣatrasya dhṛti festival is celebrated as the close of the rajasuya proper (13 7 34-35) and is then followed up by the sautramani festival

Summing up it will be observed that the central rajasuya ceremonies cluster round the period of the turning of the year the unction is everywhere preceded by a dīksa year and mostly followed by another year with dīkṣa like observances, at the end of which again a royal inauguration ceremony takes place Viewed in this light the rajasuya seems to be an abridgment of what originally must have been an unremitting series of yearly ceremonies with the object of regenerating the universe The king took a central place in it. The universe had yearly to be recreated and so had the king who, like the common śrauta sacrificer, incorporated the cosmos Already Hocart[14] ascertained the identity of coronation and

[13] Similarly Va t. 36,2 has the introductory Soma sacrifice performed on the full moon day of Taiṣa. KB 5 2 considers Taiṣa as the 13th month i.e. the passing of the old year into the new Mārgaśīrṣa could however also be considered as the beginning of the year as evidenced by the domestic ritual (cf Macdonell Keith, *V.I* 1 p 426)

[14] Cf A. M Hocart, *Kingship* (Oxford, 1927) pp 189-190 Eliade, *Traité* pp 342 ff

cosmogony. In the cyclic conception of the world, the cosmogony-consecration must be repeated over and over again. In the following pages an attempt will be made to analyze the ritual "mechanism" of this process.

to the sixteen partite stoma on the ground of its being equipped with a fifteen partite thunderbolt, itself being the sixteenth part (ŚB 8, 5 1, 10) The ideas of surpassing and at the same time encompassing are clearly present in the ṣoḍaśin round it is the last round surpassing the others – just like Indra who was the last of the gods but attained to the highest degree – and at the same time it is a means for encompassing with the ṣoḍaśin round as a vajra he encompasses goes round the cattle [11] In this connection it may also be recalled of the ṣoḍaśin graha that it is drawn at all three services of the agniṣṭoma [12] thus in a way resuming them in itself

In this way the rajanya by add ng the ṣoḍaśin round to his Soma festival surpasses and at the same time encompasses his equals

11 Cf AB 4 1 4 The d scuss on of the following rites provides an opportunity to go further nto th s subject Here we may still c te the explanation given by ŚB 10 4 1 16 of the number seventeen often connected w th Prajāpat P is sa d to cons st of sixteen parts, wh le he himself is called the seventeenth Another instance is the case of the th rteenth month wh ch s sa d to be as great as the year (KB 19,2 5 8)

12 Cf TS 6 6 11 3 AB 4 4 13

II

ISTIS FOR ANUMATI AND OTHER DIVINITIES (ANUMATYĀDAYAH)

TS 1,8 1, TB 1,6,1, MS 2,6,1, 4 3,1, KS 15,1, VS 9,35, ŚB 5,2,3 Baudh 12,1–2, Āp 18,8,10–9,3, Hir 13,3,13–26, Katy 15 1,8–13

These iṣṭis, though forming separate units, each having its own "framework", form a whole as to their function They provide a preparation for the coming sacrificial year As will be shown they are all imbued with the symbolism of (re-)birth the year and the sacrificer are during this period of preparatory rites (re-)born to resume their course in the recommencing time cycle

Their number is by the Taittiriyakas explicitly stated to be eight [1] If we may connect this number with the ideas about the eighth day par excellence, the ekaṣṭaka, which is said to be the proper day for undertaking the dikṣā for the year-long sacrificial session (the gavām ayana), the number eight seems to be favourable to the conclusion that the iṣṭis are intended to fill out a preparatory period in view of (re)birth "the aṣṭakā par excellence is the spouse of the year, during this night, verily, the year dwells with her", and further, "the aṣṭakā par excellence has by means of tapas given birth to Indra" [2]

It is therefore significant that several of these iṣṭis occur also in the dikṣa rites, whereby, as is well-known, the sacrificer is ritually reduced to the embryonic state in view of his rebirth through the sacrifice [3]

ANUMATI AND NIRRTI, KṢETRIYAM

When the grains of rice are ground for a cake which is to be baked on eight potsherds and offered to the goddess Anumati, some of the rice is caused

[1] TB 1 6,1,11

[2] PB 5 9 1–2, TS 7,4 8 1, AV 3,10,12, TS 4 3,11h In this connection it is worth while to note that at one of the following iṣṭis, the āgrayaṇa, the dakṣiṇā is a bull-calf, born in the week before the *ekāṣṭakā*

[3] Cf S Lévi, *Doctrine*, p 102–108

the normal iṣṭi, and the dakṣinā connected therewith, a milch cow, is given

KS and MS, followed by Āp and Hir, know yet another offering They prescribe that some rice be caused to fall also to the left of the śamyā during the act of grinding This rice is taken to the north and offered in an anthill, in which a hole is made for the purpose A shell is used for pouring the rice into this hole The hole is then covered again with anthill material or with a clod of earth The formula used for the offering is "Here I offer (in order to remove it) the hereditary evil (*kṣetriya-*) of N N, son of N N". When covering the hole the formula "Here I cover the hereditary illness of N N, son of N N" is used

ANNOTATIONS

Anumatī (Auspiciousness, Goodwill) and Nirṛti (Dissolution, Decay) present themselves in this iṣṭi as the two opposite aspects, auspicious and dangerous, of one and the same phenomenon This can be seen when it is considered that for both divinities the same sacrificial substance is used Moreover, both Nirṛti and Anumatī are identified with the earth, Nirṛti representing the earth's evil aspect [10]

The Nirṛti rite has an exact parallel in the agnicayana, the piling of the fire altar, where a special altar of three bricks is built for Nirṛti to the south-west of the sacrificial compound on a place where the soil is saline by nature or where the soil is cleft [11] Dealing with this altar for Nirṛti ŚB 7, 2, 1, 5 says "When the gods made Prajāpati, who had fallen asunder, fit again, they poured him in the form of seed in the fire pot (as) in a yoni The fire pot, verily, is a yoni, after a year they prepared this firm stand for him, (to wit) even this terrestrial world, the garhapatya hearth is the terrestrial world, herein they caused him to be (re)born, the evil (*pāpman-*), the phlegm, the amnion and the chorion, that they removed from him by means of these (bricks used for the Nirṛti altar)" In the next paragraph this explanation is repeated with the sacrificer taking the place of his prototype, Prajāpati When viewing the Nirṛti rite of the rājasūya in this light, it appears that the rājasuya sacrificer undergoes a new birth, shedding his embryonic covers, which otherwise would become dangerous to him, under the form of the sacrificial substance offered to Nirṛti It seems that Nirṛti herself is the personified representation of the cover of the embryo the black garment given as dakṣiṇā at the Nirṛti rite is called

[10] For Anumatī = Earth, cf ŚB 5,2,3 4, TB 1,6,1,1 4, for Nirṛti = Earth, cf ŚB 5,2,3,3 7 2,1,11, TB 1,6 1,1

[11] Cf Dumont, *Asvamedha*, no 296, Āp 16,15,8-16,5

In the present case the birth leavings under the form of the *kṣetriya* rice must be put away in an anthill This should, however, not be considered destruction of the *kṣetriya* In the ritual texts anthills are often prescribed for the disposal of leavings or surpluses of the sacrificial substance, e g sura remains, boiled over milk [20] On this latter subject TB 3 7, 2, 1 teaches ' If he should offer boiled over milk, the sacrificer would be without progeny and cattle, if he should pour it out in the wrong place, he would be without an abode Therefore he should pour it into an anthill with a mantra addressed to Prajapati The ant is related to Prajapati (cf TS 5, 1, 2, 5, where the anthill is considered the ear of Prajāpati – the earth) The sacrifice is Prajapati He gives the sacrifice a firm base in Prajapati ' [21] The meaning of this passage seems to be that the powers of fertility, activated by the sacrifice and gone beyond their bounds, in casu the boiled over milk, are to be brought back within their orbit or rather they must be placed again in the womb – viz the earth of which the anthill is the ear – to serve as the germ of new production (if they should be lost the sacrificer would be without progeny and cattle) [22] This important function of leavings is further demonstrated by the myth of Aditi, who became pregnant with the Ādityas by eating the remainders of a caru [23] The hymn AV 11 7 exalts the leavings of the sacrifice as the principle on which the whole universe rests The remainder of the sacrificial substance of the agnihotra is eaten by the sacrificer and the brahman priest with the mantra be this sacrificial substance procreative strength (*prajanana*) to me, giving ten male children ' [24] In this

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H *khedā* field as against Skt *kṣetra-* on the cerebralizing effect of *r* on a preceding dental cf J Bloch *L indo-aryen* Paris 1934 p 57) means afterbirth membranes in which the embryo is enveloped secundines (J Platts *D ctionary of the H ndostani Language* Platts, however not very convincingly derives *khedī kheri* from Skt. *kṣarati* H *kharnā* to flow)

[20] In this connection it may be of interest that earth from an anthill is mixed in a potion used against excessive secret on (Kauś 25 6–9)

[21] For the relevant rite cf Āp 9 2,4

[22] For the earth s having ears cf JB 1 126 and Oertel s comment (*JAOS 28* p 88 ff) As to the ear conceived of as the female generative organ, cf J J Meyer *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zurich Le pzig 1937) 1 p 195 *Aberglauben*, 6 1205 s v Ohr The role of the ants and the anthill in this context can be easily accounted for by their chthonic nature by virtue of which they are closely connected with the powers of fertility (cf J J Meyer *o c* 3 p 219) thus they are reputed to be endowed with the knowledge of the sap of the earth which they dig up (cf TB 1 1 3 4 TĀ 5 10 6 ŚB 14 1 1 8 AV 6 100,2) In the same l ne of thought lies the fact that ants are often regarded as associated with the dead (cf W Crooke *Popular Rel gion and Folklore of Northern Ind a* 2,256 ERE, 1 p 501)

[23] TS 6 5 6 1 TB 1 1 9 1

[24] TB 2,6 3 5 for the relevant rite cf Āp 4 14 1 6 11 5 The same mantra is used

connection we may also cite the world serpent Śeṣa (remainder, residue), who remains after the periodic reabsorption of the universe and from whom the creation recommences [25] It seems to the present writer that this idea of a residue offered or removed in such a way that it becomes the germ of a new productive cycle, underlies also the disposal of the *kṣetriya-*, the birth-leavings, which are represented by the rice fallen to the north of the millstone [26]

The same idea is perhaps also present in the Nirṛti offering, when we take into account the association elsewhere attached to the *iriṇa-* and the *pradara-* We read TS 2, 5, 1, 2–4 that the earth, the trees and the women each charged themselves with a third part of the guilt incurred by Indra when he slew Tvaṣṭṛ's son Viśvarūpa With the earth this guilt becomes the *iriṇa-*, but in exchange for her taking a part of the guilt, the dug out portions of the earth will grow up again, in the same way the pruning of the trees will result in new shoots, and the women will obtain offspring after the menses The myth of Indra's "felix culpa" in connection with the *iriṇa-* suggests the same conclusion as in the case of the anthill offering The *pradara-*, on the other hand, is said by TB 1, 5, 10, 7 to have come into existence when the asura Prabhrâda Kayadhava threw his son Virocana upwards, and thus the *pradara-* also comes fairly near to the womb concept.

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in the sautrâmaṇi for the eating of the remainder of the Indra offering, cf Âp 19 8,12, ŚB 12,8 1,22.

[25] Cf J Gonda, *Viṣṇuism* p 151 f

[26] This can perhaps elucidate Pāṇini s (5,2,92) explanation *kṣetriyaḥ parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ*, the *kṣetriya-* is to be cured by bringing it to another womb In this way the rites Kauś 26,41–27,4 against *kṣetriya-* (on which see Bloomfield, ' Hymns of the Atharvaveda", *SBE*, 42, p 287 f) can also be explained, the hymn used in it (AV 2,8) is full of references to the field, plants ploughing, so much so that Weber (Indische Studien 5,145) considered the hymn to be a charm to counteract injuries to the fields Bloomfield, however, is doubtless right in his opinion that "all this is mere play upon the two meanings of *kṣetra-*, field and womb" The agricultural imagery, in my opinion, suggests that the purpose of putting off the *kṣetriya-* is to submit it to another production cycle

FURTHER IṢṬIS OF THE ANUMATI SERIES

The further iṣṭis may be summed up as follows

OFFERING				DAKSINĀ			
TS	*MS*	*KS*	*WhYV*	*TS*	*MS*	*KS*	*WhYV*
a) caru for Aditi	caru in ghee for Ādityas bhuvadvantas	like MS	—	a) boon (*vara*)	id	id	—
b) cake on 11 potsherds for Agni Viṣnu	id	id	id	b) dwarf bull	id	id	gold
c) cake on 11 potsherds for Agni Soma	id	id	id	c) gold	id	id	released draught ox
d) cake on 11 potsherds for Indra (acc to TB for Indra Agni)	id for Indra Agni	id for Indra Agni	id for Indra Agni	d) draught ox	id	id	id
e) cake on 8 potsherds for Agni curds for Indra	id	id	—	e) draught ox	linen garment	like MS	—
f) agrayana iṣṭi	id	id	id	f) the agrayana iṣṭi will be dealt with below, immediately after the other offerings			
g) caru for Sarasvati caru for Sarasvant	—	—	—	g) pair of oxen	—	—	—

connection we may also cite the world serpent Śeṣa (remainder, residue), who remains after the periodic reabsorption of the universe and from whom the creation recommences [25] It seems to the present writer that this idea of a residue offered or removed in such a way that it becomes the germ of a new productive cycle, underlies also the disposal of the *kṣetriya-*, the birth leavings, which are represented by the rice fallen to the north of the millstone [26]

The same idea is perhaps also present in the Nirṛti offering, when we take into account the association elsewhere attached to the *irina-* and the *pradara-* We read TS 2, 5, 1, 2–4 that the earth, the trees and the women each charged themselves with a third part of the guilt incurred by Indra when he slew Tvaṣṭṛ's son Viśvarupa With the earth this guilt becomes the *irina-*, but in exchange for her taking a part of the guilt, the dug out portions of the earth will grow up again, in the same way the pruning of the trees will result in new shoots, and the women will obtain offspring after the menses The myth of Indra's "felix culpa" in connection with the *irina-* suggests the same conclusion as in the case of the anthill offering The *pradara* , on the other hand, is said by TB 1, 5, 10, 7 to have come into existence when the asura Prahrāda Kāyadhava threw his son Virocana upwards, and thus the *pradara-* also comes fairly near to the womb concept

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in the sautrāmaṇi for the eating of the remainder of the Indra offering cf Āp 19 8,12, ŚB 12,8 1 22

[25] Cf J Gonda, *Viṣnuism* p 151 f

[26] This can perhaps elucidate Pāṇini s (5 2 92) explanation *kṣetriyaḥ parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ*, the *kṣetriya-* is to be cured by bringing it to another womb In this way the rites Kauś 26 41–27,4 against *kṣetriya-* (on which see Bloomfield, 'Hymns of the Atharvaveda", *SBE*, 42, p 287 f) can also be explained, the hymn used in it (AV 2,8) is full of references to the field plants ploughing, so much so that Weber (Indische Studien, 5 145) considered the hymn to be a charm to counteract injuries to the fields Bloomfield, however, is doubtless right in his opinion that all this is mere play upon the two meanings of *kṣetra-*, field and womb" The agricultural imagery, in my opinion, suggests that the purpose of putting off the *kṣetriya* is to submit it to another production cycle

FURTHER IṢṬIS OF THE ANUMATI-SERIES

The further iṣṭis may be summed up as follows:

OFFERING				DAKṢINĀ			
TS.	*MS.*	*KS.*	*WhYV.*	*TS.*	*MS.*	*KS.*	*WhYV.*
a) caru for Aditi	caru in ghee for Ādityas bhuvadvantas	like MS.	—	a) boon (*vara-*)	id.	id.	—
b) cake on 11 potsherds for Agni-Viṣṇu	id	id.	id	b) dwarf bull	id.	id.	gold
c) cake on 11 potsherds for Agni-Soma	id	id	id.	c) gold	id.	id.	released draught ox
d) cake on 11 potsherds for Indra (acc. to TB. for Indra-Agni)	id for Indra-Agni	id for Indra-Agni	id for Indra-Agni	d) draught ox	id.	id.	id.
e) cake on 8 potsherds for Agni, curds for Indra	id	id	—	e) draught ox	linen garment	like MS.	—
f) āgrayana iṣṭi	id	id	id.	f) the āgrayana iṣṭi will be dealt with below, immediately after the other offerings.			
g) caru for Sarasvatī caru for Sarasvant	—	—	—	g) pair of oxen	—	—	—

ANNOTATIONS

a) Like the prayaṇiya iṣṭi already discussed in which an offering to Aditi is the most important element the present Aditi iṣṭi is concerned with opening up of both heaven and earth for the sacrificer the sacrificer will be consecrated with regard to both categories of beings the divine and the human as TB 1 6 1 5 has it It will further be of interest to keep in mind that Aditi is the mother par excellence she represents like Anumati motherhood in its beneficent aspect [27] It therefore seems warranted that the purport of this iṣṭi is again the birth which opens the sacrificer's way to heaven This idea seems also to be stressed by MS and KS who prescribe instead of the Aditi iṣṭi an iṣṭi for the Ādityas Bhuvadvantas Elsewhere this iṣṭi is accounted for by the myth relating the birth of the Aditya Vivasvant [28] When he was born the other Ādityas cut off from him what was dead (the embryonic covers) what was living that became the Āditya Vivasvant It is also interesting that if the sacrificer wishes to obtain offspring or cattle an Aditi iṣṭi can be inserted in the complex of dikṣa rites in the normal Soma paradigma the dikṣa being a typical birth ritual [29]

b) The cake for Agni and Viṣnu is identical with the iṣṭi normally performed as part of the dikṣa rites in the Soma paradigma [30]

c d) The next two iṣṭis for Agni Soma and for Indra Agni are the same as the offerings at the full and new moon sacrifices Like these latter they are related to Indra's slaying of Vṛtra and the restoration of Indra's force which he lost in his effort [31] They are also related to the dikṣa complex Having sacrificed with the new or with the full moon sacrifice he should within the compass of this same offering or on the same sacrificial strew undertake the dikṣa (for a Soma sacrifice) [32]

e) The cake for Agni and the curds for Indra seem to have the same background as the preceding iṣṭi for Indra Agni The MS explains both as

[27] To this effect cf the above discussion on Anumati and Nirṛti also F B J Kuiper *De goddelijke moeder in de Voor Indische religie* (Inaug Rede Leiden 1939) she is considered the mother of Indra who often is equated with the sacrificer (cf Macdonell *V M* p 56 MS 1 6 12 105 2 TB 1 1 9 3)

[28] Cf Caland *Wunschopfer* no 97 It is interesting to note that acc to Hillebrandt (*V M* 2, p 355) Vivasvant occurs in the RV as an Ehrenname des gewöhnlichen Opferers

[29] Cf Āp 10 4 4 ŚB 3 1 3 2 5

[30] Cf ŚB 5 2,3 6

[31] Cf ŚB 5 2,3 7-8 MS 4 3 1 40 5 13

[32] AB 1 1 12.

the restoration of power to Indra after his slaying Vrtra, or to his ritual counterpart the rājasūya sacrificer [33]

As to this latter point a remark of another nature should be made "He who is being anointed with the rajasuya (ceremony) suffers a loss in power and strength" (*ojasā vīryena vyṛdhyate yo rajasuyenābhiṣiñcate*), as the MS has it The wording of this passage suggests that the unction has already been performed or is at least simultaneous with these iṣṭis, though in fact the unction is to take place one or two years later In the course of the ritual we shall meet with similar facts, which taken together warrant the conclusion that the rājasuya originated from yearly recurring royal rites

f) The āgrayana iṣṭi, which will be dealt with in greater detail below, seems to have no connection with the dīkṣā, but its character as a yearly rite promoting fertility and new birth makes it fit easily into the pattern of the series of iṣṭis under discussion

g) The offerings to the goddess Sarasvati and her male counterpart Sarasvant also aim at promoting fertility and new birth Together, they are "the divine pairing, the divine procreation", offering to them the sacrificer "obtains pairing" [34] These two offerings are also part of the anvārambhanīya iṣṭi, which marks the beginning of a sacrificer's career [35] Possibly this will also account for their inclusion in the iṣṭi series marking the beginning of the rajasuya

OFFERING OF THE FIRST FRUITS (ĀGRAYANA IṢṬI)

The offering of the first fruits which is mostly performed as an independent sacrifice, is by all Yajus authorities inserted in the series of iṣṭis which opens the rājasūya The following is only a description of the main features – the offerings and the dakṣinas – as given by the ritual authorities when dealing with its performance as part of the rājasūya [36]

As a rule this iṣṭi consists of three offerings, as is also taught in KB 4, 14 According to the TS these are

1) a cake on 12 potsherds for Indra and Agni
2) caru for the Viśve Devāh

[33] Cf MS 4, p 40, l 9–12 and l 14–19 The rājasūya is often equated to the slaying of Vṛtra, cf e g PB 18 11,1

[34] Cf JB 2,198 TB 1,6 1,11

[35] Cf Āp 5 23,5

[36] For the āgrayana iṣṭi as an independent sacrifice cf Hillebrandt, *Ritualliit*, p 119 f, Keith, *RPhV*, p 323 f, B Lindner, "Das indische Ernteopfer", *Festgruss für Böhtlingk* (Stuttgart, 1888), pp. 79 ff, Āp. 6, 29–31

3) caru of millet for Soma

MS and KS add a fourth offering, a cake on one potsherd for Heaven and Earth. The offering for Soma seems to occupy a separate place. The usual triad seems to be Indra-Agni, Viśve Devāh, Heaven-Earth. At least they are thus dealt with in the brāhmaṇa texts explaining the independent āgrayaṇa, while the Soma caru is mentioned separately.[37] For the Soma offering a separate dakṣinā is mostly prescribed. The offerings and the dakṣinās connected therewith are according to:

TS	cake for Indra-Agni caru for Viśve Devah	firstborn bull calf[38]
	caru for Soma	a garment
KS	caru for Soma	a tawny ox (*babhru- piṅgala-*)
	cake for Indra-Agni caru for Viśve Devāh cake for Heaven-Earth	firstborn bull calf[38]
MS	cake for Indra Agni caru for Viśve Devāh caru for Soma cake for Heaveo-Earth	firstborn bull
WhYV..	(āgrayaṇa, not specified)	cow[39]

ANNOTATIONS

Though the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi occurs also as a seasonal offering related to the crop of the season,[40] it belongs at the same time to those rites which are concerned with the year as a whole, as is here clearly the case. The relation to the year as a whole is made explicit in TB and MS,[41] where the twelve potsherds of the Indra-Agni cake are equated to the twelve months of the year.[42] This relation to the year gives the āgrayaṇa its significance as part of the iṣṭi series which forms a preparation for the new year.

[37] ŚB, 2,4,3 does not mention it at all

[38] With "firstborn bull calf" (*prathamajo vatsa*) is probably meant a "bull calf born before the ekāṣṭakā" as in Āp 6 30,7. Caland notes there "So wird das zuerst geborene derjenigen Kälber gegeben die in der letzten Woche des alten Jahres geboren waren"

[39] Acc. to ŚB 2,4,3,13 This is also a "first born calf"

[40] Cf e g Baudh 3,12 where an āgrayaṇa for each season is prescribed

[41] TB 1 6 1,10, MS 4,3,2 41 4

[42] On the connection of Indra and Agni with the year and on their life-giving capacity, cf Hillebrandt, *VM*, 2,265 f

The āgrayana bridges the gap between the expiring year and the new year. In this way can be understood the custom, mentioned by Āp 6, 29, 8, of using old rice together with rice of the new crop for the preparation of the offerings Āp compares this with putting a tame and an untamed ox under one yoke, and therefore, as it seems, refutes this custom Nevertheless till the present day offerings of newly harvested rice mixed with old rice are made in the villages of South India [43]

The underlying idea can be illustrated by the descripton in RV 3, 55, 5, given in the form of a riddle, of Agni's nature "Dwelling in the old (plants), waxing in the new ones, he is present at the same time in the newly born young plants" The point at issue in the present rite is to secure the continuity of the fertility in order that the next year may yield abundant crops [44]

In this connection our attention should also be retained by the firstborn calf, i e the calf born before the ekaṣṭaka, in the last week of the expiring year, given as daksinā We can interpret this daksinā as the bridging of the gap between the old year, which in its last week gives birth to the new year, and the new year This is, as already observed, the significance of the whole series of iṣṭis of which the āgrayana forms a part

As has been seen, the offering to Soma stands somewhat apart from the other offerings Soma is the king of vegetation [45] Now it seems that at this rite which conjures the new growth of the vegetation at the beginning of the year, the king of the vegetation, Soma, should be ritually reborn When discussing the trisaṃyuktam havis where an offering to Soma occupies a somewhat similar position among the offerings to other gods, the opportunity will arise of showing that the position of the Soma offering may be linked with the idea of conception and rebirth

The dakṣinā given for the Soma offering is a garment "As to its divinity the garment is Soma like" [46] Now the linen garment which the dikṣita wears is considered also Soma-like, the body of Soma [47] When it is further taken into account that for one of the seasonal forms of the āgrayana a garment is given which the sacrificer has worn during the

[43] Cf S C Dube, *The Indian Village* (London, 1955), p 108

[44] For the āgrayana as referring to the next year, cf Oldenberg, *RdV.*, p 310 In general rites with reference to the first fruits often show this preoccupation with the promotion of further fertility, thus, for instance, the cases in which the first fruits of a tree should be picked by a pregnant woman or by a woman who has borne many children, cf *Aberglauben*, 2,980-1

[45] KB. 4,12, TB 3,9,17,1, MS 4,3,2 41 13

[46] TB 1,6 1,11

[47] TS 6,1,1,3

rainy season, there seems to be sufficient reason to surmise that the sacrificer, who at the time of this series of iṣṭis is in a way also a dīkṣita, by giving away his garment discards his embryonic cover – the dīkṣita-garment being generally coasidered thus [48] Perhaps we may even go further if I am right in supposing that the āgrayana aims at the ritual rebirth of Soma, the king of vegetation, it would appear that Soma's rebirth is here enacted by the sacrificer giving away his Soma like garment

III

THE FOUR MONTHLY SACRIFICES *(CĀTURMĀSYĀNI)*[1]

The year which has been prepared by the iṣṭi series just mentioned, is filled out by the four monthly seasonal sacrifices, beginning with the spring sacrifice (the vaiśvadeva sacrifice), performed at the beginning of the year directly after the iṣṭi series. Four months later the varuna-praghāsa is due, followed after another four months by the sakamedha sacrifice. After each of these seasonal sacrifices the sacrificer has his hair cut and his beard shaved.

The three cāturmasyas seem to be just one of the possibilities to fill out the year preceding the unction festival, the other possibilities being the samsrp offerings[2] or a year long Soma dikṣā. In the course of the fixation process of the rājasuya, however, they became an integral part of it, doubled by the Soma dīkṣa, adding, in the version of Āp and Hir., an extra year to the rājasūya. This explains that whereas the three catur masyas are not mentioned by MS – in the brahmana (MS 4, 3, 3) only a brief mention of them is made – and KS, their full treatment is given exactly here in the rajasuya by TS-TB.

As a fourth sacrifice the śunasīriya can be added, though it seems that it was originally independent of the caturmasyas, which are generally referred to as being three in number.[3] It is mentioned by MS and KS, where the three original caturmasyas are left out of the rājasūya. Perhaps this explains what Āp means when exempting the śunāsīriya from the caturmasyas in the rajasuya (18, 9, 5): the śunasīriya is part of the rajasuya in its own right and should not be performed as part of the caturmāsyas immediately after the sakamedha sacrifice.[4] The śunasīriya will therefore be discussed separately.

[1] A complete discussion of these sacrifices would go beyond the scope of this mono graph, they will therefore be dealt with briefly. For more details cf. Keith *RPhV*, p. 321–323, Hillebrandt, *Ritualist*, p. 115–119, Caland's translation of Āp. book 8.

[2] Cf. VaitS. 36,3.

[3] On the independence of the śunasīriya cf. also Oldenberg *R d V*, p. 442.

[4] Cf. also Caland ad Āp., *l c*, on the time for the performance of the śunāsīriya cf. Āp. 8 20 1.

IV

ŚUNĀSĪRĪYAM, INDRATURĪYAM, PAÑCEDHMĪYAM, APĀMĀRGAHOMAH

TS 1,8 7, TB 1,7,1, MS 2,6,2–3, 4,3,3–4, KS 15,2, VS 9 35–38 ŚB 5,2,4,4–20 Baudh 12, p 88 20–p 89 14, Āp 18,9,5–20, Hir 13,3,28–37, Kāty 15,1,19–2,10

These offerings are performed at the close of the cāturmāsya year, inaugurating the following year Though separate rites, they form a unity as is shown by the rule that they should be performed on one and the same day [1]

The sequence of the three latter rites differs according to the schools TS has indraturiya, pañcedhmiya, apamārgahoma, MS and KS indraturiya, apamargahoma, pañcedhmiya, WhYV pañcedhmiya, indraturiya, apāmārgahoma They will be discussed in the order given in TS

Śunasiriyam

This iṣṭi, already mentioned when dealing with the caturmasyas, takes its name from Indra Śunāsira, Indra (connected with) the Plough to whom a cake on twelve potsherds is offered together with the offerings to other divinities, regularly occurring at each of the caturmāsyas The dakṣiṇā is a plough with twelve oxen

Indraturiyam

The indraturiya iṣṭi (iṣṭi of which the fourth offering is destined for Indra) consists of four offerings a cake on eight potsherds for Agni, a caru of gavidhuka seed[2] for Rudra, sour milk for Indra, and a barley caru for

[1] Thus Mādhava ad TS 1 8 8 (B I p 99 line 1) Hir has the three latter offerings performed on the day after the śunāsiriya (Āp and Kāty are not explicit on this point) Baudh has them performed on the eighth day after the śunāsiriya with which they are however linked by the saptanis (on which see the above discussion on the cātur māsyas) filling out the intervening days. Kaṇva seems to perform the śunāsiriya and the pañcedhmiya on the same day, and to assign the two following days to the indra turiya and the apāmārgahoma (cf Weber, pp 16,19)

[2] A wild plant, coix barbata.

Varuna The sequence given is that of TS , MS , KS and WhYV have Indra's offering in the fourth place The dakṣinā is a cow for draught purposes

Pañcedhmıyam[3]

(Offering on the five kindling sticks)

For this offering, which is a simple libation not requiring the extensive rites of the isti, the āhavanıya fire is pushed out to the four points of the compass, in the middle a fifth fire is spared Beginning with the eastern fire, continuing with the southern one and ending up with the fire in the middle, the adhvaryu places in each of these five fires a kindling stick of parna, nyagrodha, aśvattha, udumhara and plakṣa wood [4] Then having ladled five portions of ghee into the offering ladle, the adhvaryu, moving from the east through the south to the north, pours successively into each of the fires a ghee libation, using the following formulas

' The gods that sit in the east led by Agni, that slay the raksas, may they protect us, may they help us, to them homage, to them hail "

(libation in the eastern fire)

"The gods that sit in the south led by Yama, that slay etc "

(libation in the southern fire)

"The gods that sit in the west led by Savitr etc "

(libation in the western fire)

"The gods that sit in the north led by Varuna etc '

(libation in the northern fire)

"The gods that sit above led by Brhaspati etc "

(libation in the centre) [5]

After these five libations the five fires are pushed together with the formula ' the raksas is collected, the rakṣas has been burnt up here do I burn up the rakṣas" Then the adhvaryu places one kindling stick in the collected fire, ladles five portions of ghee in the offering ladle and makes another set of five oblations with "to Agni (resp to Yama Savitṛ,

[3] In the WhYV this rite is called *pañcavātıya* , related to the five winds or pranas (vital forces)

[4] The kinds of wood are specified by Baudh They are the kinds of wood most fit *for ritual purposes parna is equated to the* brahman (TB 1,7,1,9) shoots and fruits of the other trees are used in preparing the beverage destined for the kṣatrıya as a substitute for the Soma (cf AB 7 30–32)

[5] The gods connected with the quarters differ in the saṃhitās east and south are in *all saṃhitās connected* with resp. Agni and Yama west Savitṛ (TS) Maruts (MS, KS) Viśve Devāh (WhYV) north Varuna (TS) Mitra and Varuna (MS, KS, WhYV) or Maruts (WhYV) zenith Bṛhaspati (TS), Soma (MS, KS, WhYV)

of the new year out of the past one as well as the regeneration of the whole universe

Indraturīyam

The name of this iṣṭi implies more than the simple fact that one fourth of this fourfold iṣṭi is destined for Indra The brahmaṇa texts connect it with Indra's victory over Vṛtra or over the Asuras Agni helps Indra in gaining his victory by manifesting himself in three forms – Agni Varuna Rudra – and by extending himself with these three forms over the three worlds – earth atmosphere sky – in order to protect Indra from these three positions [14] thus imitating though in a protective sense Vṛtra's menacing activity Indra then joins the triple Agni and being the fourth gets the fourth part of the iṣṭi What the fourth place and the fourth part mean in terms of cosmology can be seen in a passage like ŚB 14 8 15 4 that which is burning beyond space that is the shining fourth (*turīya*) quarter of the gayatri The gayatri is a metre made up of three groups of eight syllables each its shining fourth part the reference is clearly to the sun – therefore surpasses it in the most literal sense [15] The conclusion lies therefore at hand that the word indraturiya implies that Indra, by virtue of his fourth place rises triumphantly above the three worlds

The fact that Indra's offering according to TS occupies the third place instead of the fourth place need not contradict this conclusion This seems to convey the idea of Indra's being protected on all sides as in the case of the pancedhmiya where the fire in the centre represents the zenith Indra's central position connotes his occupying the highest place among the others [16]

Excursus on the symbolism of numbers The significance of the indraturiya can be best appraised in the light of the symbolism of numbers or in the words of Bergaigne l'arithmétique mythologique [17] The present writer is under the impression that numbers have no specific value in themselves By virtue of this neutrality they are able to take a great variety of meanings In this way a number can give expression to the interrelation of

[14] MS 4 3 4 42 17 f

[15] Cf ŚB 4 6 1 4 Prajāpatiḥ surpassing these (three) worlds, is the fourth Cf also L. Renou L. Silburn Sur la notion de brahman *JA* vol 237 t (1949) p 11 n 1 who suppose that *turīya* by way of its associations with the root *tṝ* 'to pass' connotes au-delà

[16] It is tempting to suppose that with similar considerations one has the origin of the third fourth sixth or other part of the crop due, according to the śāstras, to the king

[17] Cf Bergaigne *La religion védique* (Paris 1878–83) 2 p 114–156.

of the new year out of the past one as well as the regeneration of the whole universe

Indraturīyam

The name of this iṣṭi implies more than the simple fact that one fourth of this fourfold iṣṭi is destined for Indra The brahmaṇa texts connect it with Indra s victory over Vṛtra or over the Asuras Agni helps Indra in gaining his victory by manifesting himself in three forms – Agni Varuṇa Rudra – and by extending himself with these three forms over the three worlds – earth atmosphere sky in order to protect Indra from these three positions[14] thus imitating though in a protective sense Vṛtra s menacing activity Indra then joins the triple Agni and being the fourth gets the fourth part of the iṣṭi What the fourth place and the fourth part mean in terms of cosmology can be seen in a passage like ŚB I4 8 15 4 that which is burning beyond space that is the shining fourth (*turiya*) quarter of the gayatri The gayatri is a metre made up of three groups of eight syllables each its shining fourth part the reference is clearly to the sun – therefore surpasses it in the most literal sense[15] The conclusion lies therefore at hand that the word indraturiya implies that Indra by virtue of his fourth place rises triumphantly above the three worlds

The fact that Indra s offering according to TS occupies the third place instead of the fourth place need not contradict this conclusion This seems to convey the idea of Indra s being protected on all sides as in the case of the pancedhmiya where the fire in the centre represents the zenith Indra s central position connotes his occupying the highest place among the others[16]

Excursus on the symbolism of numbers The significance of the indraturiya can be best appraised in the light of the symbolism of numbers or in the words of Bergaigne l arithmetique mythologique [17] The present writer is under the impression that numbers have no specific value in themselves By virtue of this neutrality they are able to take a great variety of mea nings In this way a number can give expression to the interrelation of

[14] MS 4 3 4 42 17 f

[15] Cf ŚB 4 6 1 4 Prajāpati surpassing these (three) worlds, is the fourth Cf also L. Renou – L. S lburn, Sur la not on de brahman *JA* vol 237 1 (1949) p 11 n 1 who suppose that *tu ya-* by way of ts assoc ation w th the root *ff* to pass, connotes au-delà"

[16] It is tempt ng to suppose that with s mular cons derat ons l es the origin of the third fourth sixth or other part of the crop due acc. to the Śāstras, to the king

[17] Cf Berga gne *La rel g on véd que* (Paris 1878–83) 2 p 114–156.

At the same time the summarizing element represents the new birth, the recommencement of the totality's unfolding as is strikingly shown by the speculations on the thirteenth month, which as an embryo enters the seasons again, cited above [26] The totality number seems to be closely connected with the concept of the womb, from which the embryo springs and in which it again and again enters to be reproduced

On the mythological plane this has been worked out in the pattern of one male god surrounded by a number of female goddesses conceived of as his mothers, sisters or wives Such is, for instance, the case with Rudra Tryambaka, Rudra with the three "mothers" (*amba-*, *ambikā-*) [27] Another instance can be seen in the case of Dhatar and the four (or two) devikās, [28]

On the cosmological plane a similar procedure is applied to numbers referring to the parts of space (earth, atmosphere, heaven, the points of the compass and the centre or zenith) and the divisions of time (seasons, months, the year) It can also be applied to notions of yet another conceptual plane, such as parts of the body and the ātman, and sets of ritual acts, sacrificial implements, metres, etc

Now, as already observed above, all of these conceptual planes can be united under the seal of a number [29] Thus for instance the three sacrificial grass bundles used in the vaiśvadeva sacrifice[30] are assimilated, by virtue of this number, to the three worlds, to the triad father, mother, son, and to

[26] In this respect the extra element added to a number coincides with the concept of the rest. A mythological example may illustrate this Besides the seven sons of Aditi an eighth is mentioned Mārtāṇḍa (cf Oldenberg *R.d V*, p 178, n 2, Macdonell, *V M*, p 43 f) Aditi resorts with the seven first Ādityas to the gods, throwing the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, away, but only to reproduce him "for (alternating) regeneration and death" (RV 10,72,8-9) The eighth Āditya is therefore the one by whom continuity of the cosmic process is secured, at the same time he is the remainder which can be dangerous (he is *mārtāṇḍa-*, sprung from the dead egg) and is thrown away to be reproduced, that is to become the principle of continuity

[27] Cf K. T Johansson, *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā* (Uppsala, 1919), p 90, E. Arbmann, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1922), p 295 f Johansson, in my opinion, overstresses the importance of the number three of the goddesses other numbers are possible as well, materials for the numbers four and five, Johansson *o c*, p 25

[28] Cf the next chapter, Devasuvām Haviṃṣi, Annotations

[29] In this connection I may also refer to the classification systems known from the literature and religion of Java and Bali, where series of cosmological entities (gods, points of the compass, colours, jewels, metals etc) are classed together in a specific number of groups (e g. Iśvara, East, white, diamond, silver) each group being connected with a division of the universe It is to be noted that the entities classed together with the Centre represent the higher unity, the summary of the others. Cf J L. Swellengrebel, *Korawāśrama* (Thesis Leyden, 1936), Inleiding pp. 29 ff, Th Pigeaud, 'Javaanse wichelarij en classificatie', *Feestbundel Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 1929, 2, p 273-90

[30] Cf Āp 8,1,11

amnion embryo and chorion [31] This example is significant in that it shows us also the role of the third extra element as the principle of regeneration and continuity We shall therefore be justified in considering that when a triad tetrad pentad or other number of entities of any category is mentioned also entities of other categories which can be articulated on the same number such as the embryo and its covers – the number of the covers being variable as we shall see later on – are implied [32] The extra element added to a number of entities will therefore easily fall in line with the embryo concept When this principle is applied to the indraturiya we may safely assume that Indra s triumphant rise above the three worlds implies also his birth [33]

In the following discussions we shall frequently meet with number as the multivalent symbol uniting a complex of conceptually different entities When stressing that aspect of the complex which refers to birth and continuity it is not intended to suggest that the embryo and its covers are the original and basic concept underlying the whole complex But continuity and new birth are professedly the primary concern of the ritual which is governed by the idea of the (re)birth out of sacrifice In centering discussion on this important trend in brahmana speculations which in later Indian thought grew even into an overriding obsession we shall be perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the ritualistic philosophers

Before ending this excursus on the symbolism of numbers I should like to call attention to the grouping of iṣṭis or parts of an iṣṭi where the numerical symbolism seems also to function Thus KB 4 14 states that the agrayaṇa iṣṭi comprises three offerings as there are also three worlds while also the idea of new birth is clearly present in it The size of the number is indifferent so that when four offerings are prescribed for the agrayana this makes no difference The same can be said of the three (or four) caturmasyas the number of which links them to the seasons the worlds and the birth process

Pancedhmiyam

This rite confronts us with another clear instance of mythological (or

[31] Cf TB 1 6 3 1 TS 6 5 6 3 the same is sa d with reference to the three verses with which the Ād tya graha is drawn in the Soma sacrifice cf also ŚB 6 5 3 3 5 with reference to the three lines engraved on the fire pot (*ukhā*)

[32] Against this background it will also readily be understood why the embryos are said to reside in the atmosphere (*cf ŚB 4,5 2 13 PB 4 8 13*) the embryo and its covers are put on a par with the atmosphere surrounded by heaven and earth

[33] This conclusion is further fortified by the fact that Indra s victory over Vṛtra, as we have already observed is linked w th his birth

WhYV , part of which is a rite for placing the pranas in the embryo five brahmins are placed towards the five regions and breathe upon the child, or the father himself may perform the breathing by walking round the child [39]

Viewed in a wider perspective the present rite may be considered the enacting of the cosmological drama on the stage of the ahavaniya fire which is linked up with the cosmos, the cosmic man Prajapati and the human man, the sacrificer [38] All of the terms – fire, cosmos, Prajapati, sacrificer – are connected because of their being articulated on the number five (five fires five regions, five groups of gods sprung from Prajapati five praṇas) The adhvaryu, pushing out the fires to the points of the compass and moving clockwise (*pradakṣiṇa*) round them, makes the cosmos unfold and enacts the rotation of the cosmic powers of which the sacrificer forms the pivot,[40] then recollecting the fires, he symbolically performs the resorption of the cosmos in its centre At this critical moment of the year's turning the recommencement of the processes of fertility and growth are, by their ritual enactment, safeguarded against their own evil, rakṣasic aspect – the rakṣases being representative of the evil aspect of fertility rather that independent powers in their own right –, which is "slain , "pushed together ' and "burnt up ' in the efficacious functioning of the same processes

Apāmargahomah

This rite, as may be seen from its description, shows a striking resemblance to the Nirṛti rite, and this similarity in form may well be taken to stand for a similarity of purpose The apamargahoma will therefore be yet another ritual idiom for the discarding of the embryonic covers or, as stated here to drive off the rakṣases

This conclusion can also be derived from other considerations The magical working of the apamarga plant seems to reside in the peculiarity of its fruits which are described as turned backwards ' [41] This peculiarity of the apāmarga plant takes on a specific significance when compared with those passages which link conception and birth with the forward (eastern)

[38] *ParGS* 1 16 10–16

[39] *Agni (whose most powerful manifestation is the āhavanīya fire) is the bandhu* of the sacrifice , i.e l'ensemble des connexions rituelles (cf L Silburn *Instant et Cause* Paris 1955 p 33)

[40] When dealing with the chariot drive we shall return to the theme of the cosmic rotation and discuss its generating effect

[41] *praticīnaphala* ŚB 5 2 4 20 Cf also Caland ad Āp 18 9 16 Thus for instance it can be used for turning back the effect of an incantatory rite upon its author Also the (pseudo etymological?) association with the root *apa mṛj* to wipe off plays a role

and backward (western) directions forward the semen is impregnated backward offspring are born [42] 'Turned backward (to the west) he makes the oblation (at the karamba iṣṭi) thus being turned backward he frees himself from Varuṇa s fetter [43] The apāmārga offering can therefore be interpreted as follows in the same way as the apāmarga fruits the embryo is born backward and puts off Varuṇa s fetter (the embryonic cover) backward (towards its place of origin) In this connection it is interesting that the dakṣiṇa according to the Taittirīyakas is the garment which the sacrificer is wearing (at the time of the ceremony) the sacrificer literally lays off his cover in the same way as he did in the Nirṛti rite and the agrayana iṣṭi

The apamargahoma is by TB and MS also brought into relation with the myth of Indra s freeing himself from Namuci Indra s contract with Namuci not to kill him either by day or by night is reflected in the moment at which the apamargahoma is performed the morning or evening twilight belonging neither to the day nor to the night Later on when dealing with the king s stepping on the tiger skin before the unction we shall again come across the Indra Namuci myth already now we may suggest the birth motif as a possible interpretation of the myth

To sum up it may be stated that the indraturiya the paneedhmīya and the apamargahoma form as to their purpose a unity after the caturmasya year a new year implying new birth sets in with the śunasiriya iṣṭi the three immediately following iṣṭis are connected with it for the purpose of safeguarding the new birth and eliminating the rakṣasic powers [44]

[42] TS 5,2 10,2 6 4 10 4 TB 2,5 7 3

[43] TB 1 6,5 5 for the karamba ṣṭi cf Āp ā 6,23

[44] Thus ŚB 5 2,4 7 12 14 by means of these three rites the gods safeguarded against the rakṣases what they had conquered by the cāturmāsyas MS on the other hand considers the indraturīya as the conquering rite while the two following offerings protect the victory against the rakṣases (MS 4 p 43 lines 2,14 18) Perhaps this grouping of the offerings originated from numerical considerations, the WhYV version being based on the number four (three + one) and MS s version on the number three (two + one)

V

DEVIKĀ-HAVĪMṢI, TRIṢAMYUKTAM HAVIS, IṢṬIS FOR VAIŚVĀNARA AND VARUṆA

TS 1,8 8, TB 1,7,2, MS 2,6 4, 4,3 5–7, KS 15,3, ŚB 5,2,5 Baudh 12, p 89 15–90 11, Āp 18,10,1–11, Hir 13,3,38–44, Kāty 15,2,11–20

In the same way as the preceding offerings belong together, the iṣṭis discussed in the present chapter form a whole According to Mādhava, commenting TS 1, 8, 8 (B I p 99), these iṣṭis should also be performed on the same day, though this is not the practice recorded by the sutra authors [1]

As we shall be able to observe the present iṣṭis are also concerned with the regeneration of the year and of the powers of fertility

Devika havimṣi

This iṣṭi is prescibed in the BlYV only It is performed in the morning (directly after the morning agnihotra) after the night in which the pañcedhmiya and apamārga offerings have been made, and is composed of five offerings a cake on twelve potsherds for Dhāṭṛ and four carus for the devikās Anumati, Rakā, Sinivali and Kuhū

Baudh splits the devikā havimṣi into two iṣṭis, performed on two subsequent days, the first consists of the offerings for Anumati, Rākā and Dhāṭṛ, the second for Sinivali, Kuhū and again for Dhāṭṛ

The dakṣinā consists of a cow- and a bull-calf, which by Baudh are of course divided over the two days [2]

[1] Cf, however, comm ad Hir 13,3 43 *paśor abhāve devikānantare athavā pañcāpy anvaham pākṣikam sutrakāramatāt*

[2] MS and KS prescribe a four year-old cow (*paṣṭhauhi*, this word is not quite clear, cf Macdonell Keith, *V I*, 1, p 511, Baudh. s comm Bhavasvāmin explains it everywhere as a cow which, *though fit to bear young* has not yet been in calf) Hir gives as the opinion of some (authorities) a cow described as *pravītā prajāyamānā* and by Hir 's comm it is explained as a cow that has *recently calved or one that is* in calf (Perhaps we should read here *pravītā-aprajāyamānā*, a cow that has been impregnated once and since has not been *impregnated again analogous to a sūtavasā*, cow barren after having calved once)

Through the devikā havirniṣṭi the fulfilment of various wishes can be obtained offspring cattle, a village (*grama*), continuity of sacrificial activity, recovery from a long lasting illness (*yo jyog amayati*), (mental) vigour (*medha*), splendour (*ruc*)[3] The nature of the wish seems to determine the time of the Dhatr offering before, in the middle, or at the end, of the offerings for the female devikas[4]

According to MS (4 3, 6 45 4), followed by Āp and Hir, this iṣṭi can be accompanied by an animal sacrifice in honour of Dhātṛ[5]

Trişamyuktam haris

or the threefold intertwined sacrifice, consists of three iṣṭis of three offerings each Each of the three iṣṭis concentrates upon respectively Viṣnu, Soma, Pusan TS gives them in the following order

1	a cake on 11 potsherds	for	Agni and Visnu	dakṣiṇa
	„ „ „ 11 „	„	Indra and Viṣnu	dwarf beast of burden
	„ „ „ 3 „	„	Viṣṇu	
2	a cake on 11 potsherds	for	Agni and Soma	daksinā
	„ „ „ 11 „	„	Indra and Soma	brown (ox)
	caru		Soma	
3	caru	for	Soma and Pusan	dakṣina
	„		Indra and Puṣan	black (ox)
	„	„	Pusan	

In the WhYV the Soma series of offerings occupies the third place, while the three iṣṭis as a whole are more uniform the principal god being combined in each series with Agni and Indra respectively, and the first offering of each series being a cake baked on 11 potsherds, the two others carus MS and KS prescribe only two series for Visnu and for Puṣan

The three iṣṭis are performed on three subsequent days (Hir, Baudh) or on one and the same day (WhYV)

Each of these three iṣṭis can be connected with a special wish resp continuity of sacrificial activity, male offspring and cattle (Hir), or a village priestly lustre and cattle (Āp)[6]

[3] Cf also Āp 13 24 5

[4] Cf TS. 3 4 9 MS 4 3 5–6 KS 12 8

[5] Similarly the devikā havirniṣṭi are performed in the Soma paradigma in connection with the sacrifice of a barren cow for Mitra and Varuṇa (cf CH no 257)

[6] Caland (ad Āp 18 10 6) supposes that only one of the three iṣṭis, chosen according to the special wish of the sacrificer sufficed. The specifications about the wishes seem to me however to refer to the independent performance of the trişamyukta, as a kāmyā iṣṭi. Moreover we may expect that fulfilment of all three wishes is exactly what is aimed at by the royal sacrificer

Iṣṭis for Vaiśvanara and Varuna

The two following iṣṭis are the offering of a cake baked on twelve potsherds for (Agni) Vaiśvanara and a caru of barley for Varuna Āp and Hir, following MS, specify that the dish in which the Varuna caru is to be prepared should measure a span in height as well as in width

These two iṣṭis are performed on two subsequent days (Hir Baudh) or on one and the same day (Mānava),[7] the WhYV leaves the choice open

The dakṣina for the *Vaiśvanara iṣṭi is gold, for the Varuna iṣṭi* a horse (BlYV)[8] The WhYV prescribes as dakṣinas a bull and a black garment (or a garment of any other colour in case a black one is not available)

The iṣṭis clearly belong together, as the brahmana texts link them up with each other Also outside the rajasuya offerings for Agni Vaiśvanara and Varuna are found to be combined[9]

ANNOTATIONS

Devika havimṣi

These deities are essentially concerned with fertility[10] or, in more precise terms with cooception and birth They play an important role in the domestic ritual connected with conception and birth Dhatṛ is credited with the placing of the embryo[11] – a sphere of activity which seems to be also especially proper to at least one of his female partners Sinivali[12], he is also asked to give a husband to the unmarried woman[13] It is also interesting that the inviting and offering verses used for these offerings – TS 3 3 11 g u – are also used in the simantonnayana rite performed during the first pregnancy[14] and in the birth ritual[15] Dhatr and his female companions represent the procreative union of the husband and his wives[16] in its double aspect of conception and birth Both aspects are differen

[7] In th s case the two offerings form one iṣṭi (*samānatantra*) (cf also H r 13 3 44)
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[9] Cf Caland *WO nos* 19 20
[10] On the devikas cf J Gonda *Visnu sm p* 226 ff Johansson *Dhiṣana* p 71 f
[11] Cf BĀU 6 4 21 TS 3 3 11h TB 1 7 2 1
[12] Cf J Gonda *l c*
[13] Cf AV 4 60 3
[14] Cf HirGS 2,1,2 3
[15] Cf HirGS 2 4 9 ĀśvGS 1 14 3
[16] Cf MS 4 p 44 15 the goddesses are the women Dhatṛ is the male

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[13] Cf AV 4 60 3
[14] Cf HirGS 2 1 2 3
[15] Cf HirGS 2 4 9 ĀsvGS I 14 3
[16] Cf MS 4 p 44 15 'the goddesses are the women Dhatṛ is the male

tiated by the place Dhātṛ's offering occupies among those for the goddesses if the offering to Dhātṛ is made in the midst or at the end of the other offerings, the reference is to conception, if his offering is made first, before the others, to birth [17] In the first case Dhātṛ is the male who enters the females, to be born from them and come again to the fore, as represented in the second case

Here again we can observe the workings of the symbolism of numbers There are the four goddesses complemented by the fifth regenerating unit, the male Dhātṛ [18] This numerical pattern connects them with the articulations of space and time they are equated to the four directions and Prajāpati,[19] the four goddesses are the four phases of the moon and Dhatṛ is the moon entering them,[20] to this complex can be added the metres (goddesses) and the vaṣaṭ-call (Dhātṛ)[21] and obviously also the embryo and its covers At this moment of the rajasūya, on the verge of a new year, the universe must be regenerated, the forces of the sacrifice which govern it must be set in motion again ' after a year s time the metres are exhausted for the Soma sacrificer, the devikas are the metres, (the adhvaryu) sets the exhausted metres in motion again', as the MS (4, p 44 4), explaining the devikā havirdhi in the rajasuya, has it So the threatened continuity is safeguarded by the procreative union of the male and female elements ritually activated by means of the offerings to Dhātṛ and the goddesses, who by virtue of their numerical connections with the articulations of the universe extend their procreating activity over the whole of it [22]

There is still another point which deserves our attention The MS passage quoted above continues ' the adhvaryu should cause the sacrificer who *has been anointed* with the rājasūya to make the offerings to the devikas" Viewed in its context this passage seems to suggest that the origin (or one of the origins) of the rajasūya lies with a scheme of Somic

[17] Cf MS 4 p 44 14 ff Conception and birth are actually conceived of as two sides two directions of the same process, when deal ng with the apamargahoma we saw that they are connected with resp the eastern and western direction

[18] The number four can alternate with the numbers two and three two of the goddesses and Dhātṛ is the pattern which Baudh s version of these offerings shows. Cf also Hillebrandt *NVO*, p 155 where we find instances of two three or four of these goddesses with Agni Gṛhapati as their male partner

[19] Cf ŚB 9 5 1 38–39

[20] TS 3 4 9 6 For the moon in connection with female deities, procreation vegetation etc cf Meyer *Trilogie* 3, p 311 (index sv Mond)

[21] TS *l c*

[22] This will also be the reason why we find the devikā offerings also recorded at the end of the rājasūya (Baudh 12,20 118 5) as well as at the end of other sacrifices e g the agniṣṭoma (cf CH no 257)

here as the extra element bringing about regeneration and continuity

An interesting feature which may be retained is the idea of the cosmic rotation underlying the two phases, referred to above Conception and birth are brought about by a rotatory (upward and downward) movement encompassing the two poles of the universe, heaven and earth, and enclosing in its round the intermediate space where the embryo is said to reside [28]

A somewhat different picture seems to arise from the speculations in the ŚB on the triṣaṃyukta by the first triad (Viṣṇu) the sacrificer establishes contact with the human beings (*puruṣa*), integrates them in himself (*tan evaitad samspṛśate, tan atman kurute*) and finds a firm support in them (*teṣv evaitad antatah pratitiṣṭhati*), by the second (Puṣan) he does the same with respect to cattle, and by the third (Soma) with respect to priestly lustre It seems as though the sacrificer concentrates in himself the three forces, emblematic of the three varnas and constituting the social universe of Vedic India dominion, cattle and priesthood [29] The different outlook of the ŚB , however, seems easily to rejoin the other one society and space are but two aspects of the cosmos, and they are connected by their being both articulated on the number three At this particular moment, the joint between two years, when disintegration and dispersion are imminent, the restructuring of space and the concentration of the social forces, effected through these triads of offerings, prevent the powers involved from dispersion and direct them towards new production [30]

Agni Vaisvanara and Varuna

Agni Vaiśvanara seems to be essentially concerned with the processes of fertility In some stanzas of the RV he is identified with the 'tree of life' [31] The epithet Vaiśvanara can quite plausibly be explained as 'related to him, who possesses the total amount of vital strength' [32] Being here, as often identified with the year – the twelve potsherds of his cake represent the twelve months of the year[33] – he presides over the year long

[28] Later on when dealing with the chariot drive we shall meet again with the representation of the engendering cosmic rotation

[29] Cf also the wishes which may be realized through each of the triads a village cattle priestly lustre.

[30] Also in the ŚB s vers on the central triad (Puṣan) is concerned with procreation (ŚB 5 2,5 8)

[31] RV 1 59 1 2 4 5 1

[32] F B J Kuiper *Mededel ngen der Kon Ned Ak van Wetenschappen afd Letter kunde* N R 14 5 (1951) p 221 For Agni Vaiśvānara as the semen cf ŚB 7 3 1 35

[33] ŚB. 5 2 5 15

processes of maturing and birth Agni Vaisvanara – the year – Prajapati created offspring and in imitation thereof the rajasuya sacrificer, offering the cake to Agni Vaiśvanara, creates offspring [34] Then, by means of the Varuna offering he frees the offspring from Varuna's fetter [35] These two isṭis seem particularly suited to the turning of the year, they secure the year long fertility process

In the centre of this process stands the sacrificer, for in the words of MS it is the sacrificer s own person (*atman*) that is freed from Varuna s fetter [36] In other words it is the sacrificer himself who being identified with Vaiśvanara – the year – Prajapati propagates himself, is reborn In this connection the following passage of the MS (4 p 46 lines 15ff) dealing with the present offerings is worthy of note "Vaisvanara is the year, he (the adhvaryu) gives him (the sacrificer) a firm stand in the year, he makes him live for a year's duration, therefore the teeth of one who has been anointed with the rajasuya (ritual) fall out (after a year) with old age, for he establishes him in the year, he makes him live for a year s duration This passage is strongly suggestive of the decay of the fertility genius at the end of the year and its revival in the new year [37] Now Agni Vaiśvanara and Varuna can both be considered such divinities [38] They are imperson ated here by the rajasuya sacrificer,[39] in whose decay and revival the processes of fertility in the cosmos are centered The present isṭis connecting the two year cycles bring about the renewal of these processes

Before concluding we may, as in the case of the devika havirnsi point

[34] Cf ŚB 5,2 5 14

[35] For the sequence birth freeing from Varuna s fetter cf above the caturmasyas We have already observed the connection of Varuna s fetter with the covers of the embryo (the umbilical cord?) In this connection it may be noticed that a (black) garment is given as dakṣiṇa for the Varuna iṣṭi which apparently represents the discarded embryonic cover as in the case of the Nirṛti and apamarga rites The significance of the horse dakṣiṇa possibly lies in the same sphere the horse s shoulder hairs being intact, as specified by MS means that he is free from or has shed evil (*vyāvṛttaḥ pāpmana* MS 2 5 9 59 9) For *pāpman* as related to the embryonic covers see the discussion of the Nirṛti offering Saddle and harness were perhaps associated with the idea of Varuna s fetter

[36] MS 4 p 46 line 20 this is the reason why the dish for Varuna s caru should measure one span in every direct on this being the measure of the atman The span is also mentioned as the measure of the embryo (ŚB 7 5 1 14)

[37] On the decay and revival of fertility demons cf e g Meyer *Trilogie* 1 1–4 and the literature cited there

[38] On the renewal of the fire having grown old at the end of the year cf Hillebrandt *VM* 1 92. For Varuna cf Meyer *Trilogie* 3,225 ff

[39] It may be noticed that Agni Vaiśvanara and Varuna are also like the sacrificer anointed kings , as MS 4 p 46 lines 10–11 in this connection expressly states, of resp the seasons and the gods. RV 6 9 1 compares Agni Vaiśvanara overcom ng the darkness with the king being born (*jayamano na rajā*)

to the fact that here, in the MS. passage quoted above, the rājasūya unction is again referred to as already completed; a fact leading to the conclusion that the origin of the rājasūya lies in a yearly recurring ritual pattern.[40]

The iṣṭis discussed in this chapter can again be summed up as a group of rites intended to bring about the cosmic rebirth, the renewal of the year and the cosmic processes bound up with it. They seem to have a special connection with the Soma ritual and particularly with the rājasūya form of it, as can be deduced from the above annotations. Perhaps they were originally assigned the function of providing the link between subsequent year-long Somic cycles.

[40] Acc. to Vārāha 3,3,4,56 offerings for Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa are prescribed again at the end of the whole rājasūya.

VI

RATNIN OFFERINGS (*RATNINĀM HAVIMṢI*)

TS 1,8,9, TB 1,7,3, MS 2 6,5–6, 4,3,8–9, KS 15,4, ŚB 5,3,1,1–2,3 Baudh 12,5, Āp 18,10,12–11,1, Hir 13,4,1–14, Katy 15,3 1–39

On the next and subsequent days[1] a series of iṣṭis sets in, which are performed each in the house of one of the ratnins – dignitaries, and members of the royal household, bearers of the royal treasures [2]

For the purpose of these iṣṭis the ratnins, acc to Baudh , take up their residence near the place of sacrifice, settling down in a half circle from south to north or from west to east For each of these iṣṭis the sacrificial fires are collected and caused to "mount" the fire drill sticks[3] and reproduced by drilling in the house of the ratnin and divided over the three hearths All materials for the iṣṭi are provided by the ratnin in whose house it is performed When it is completed, the sacrificial fire is brought back to the central place of sacrifice in the same way as it was brought to the ratnin's house

The ratnins and the iṣṭis performed in their houses are listed below I have followed the sequence given in TS and TB , to the right the sequence given by other schools may be found The main differences can be summed up as follows TS and KS enumerate eleven ratnins, TB , MS and WhYV have twelve ratnins, consisting of the eleven ratnins of TS and KS , adding to them either the vāvātā (TB , on the fourth place) or the takṣa-rathakāra (MS , on the eleventh place) or the pālāgala (WhYV , on the eleventh place) Baudh follows, as always, TB , Āp

[1] The day on which the ratnin offerings are started is, acc to Baudh , the new moon day at the end of the month Phālguna (or Caitra), Hir and Kāty have these offerings performed in the first, light, half of resp Taiṣa or Phālguna

[2] The name *ratnin-* seems not to refer to jewels or regalia, the ratnas are the functions held by the royal dignitaries and the members of the royal household, they are the constituent parts of the government For the translation ' receiving gifts" (Macdonell-Keith, *V I*, 2, p 199), though possible, evidence is lacking.

[3] For the relevant rite, the samārohaṇa ceremony, cf *Āp 6,28 8 ff The fire can also* be transported by means of burning fire brands, as is Baudh.'s opinion here (Baudh 22,17 141 7)

and Hir. do the same but add the takṣa-rathakāra, taken over from the Maitrāyaṇiyas, and the pālāgala, from the WhYV.

As a counterpart to the iṣṭis in the houses of the ratnins, which are given in the list, an iṣṭi in which a cake on eleven potsherds is offered to Indra Sutrāman and another such cake to Indra Aṃhomuc, is prescribed by the BlYV. The dakṣiṇā for this iṣṭi is a hull or, according to some (non-identified) authorities, a pectoral (*niṣka-*) or a cuirass (*kavaca-*). Whereas Āp. and Hir. place this iṣṭi at the end of the whole series and have it performed in the sacrificer's own house, Baudh.'s version is that it should be performed daily after the return to the central place of sacrifice and that it consists alternately of an eleven-potsherd cake for Indra Sutrāman or for Indra Aṃhomuc.

Instead of these offerings for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Aṃhomuc the WhYV. prescribes a caru (to be offered in the house of the sacrificer, acc. to Sāyaṇa ad ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 1) for Soma and Rudra, prepared in the milk of a white cow, feeding a white calf, and which is given as dakṣiṇā.[4]

In the BlYV. an essential part of the present rites is the pronouncement of the wish: "May this our king, having become a slayer of Vṛtra, slay Vṛtra."[5] This wish is pronounced, according to Baudh., by the ratnin in whose house the offering has been made, when the sacrificer returns to the central place of sacrifice. Hir. and Āp., however, insert the wish in the iṣṭi for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Aṃhomuc.[6]

ANNOTATIONS

The ratnin episode is one of the few parts of the rājasūya that are directly and exclusively related to kingship. Even of the unction, the central feature of the rājasūya, this cannot be said. In the ratnin episode the sacrificer is referred to as *rājan-* instead of, as is usual, *yajamāna-* or *sūyamāna-*.[16]

The theme with which the present iṣṭis are concerned is the relation of the king to his subordinates, who represent the constituent elements of royalty. Defining this relation the TB. states that the ratnins are the givers and takers of the realm (*pradātāraḥ*, *apādātāraḥ*), "they extend to him

[4] The Soma-Rudra iṣṭi may, acc. to Kāty., also be performed independently by a brahmin who, though being learned, has not yet gained prestige (*yaśas-*), and by one who suffers from eruption of the skin.

[5] Āp. has the adhvaryu pronounce it before the sviṣṭakṛt oblation (cf. Hillebrandt, *NVO.*, p. 117); Hir. adds it to the hotṛ's sūktavāka (cf. Hillebrandt, *o. c.*, p. 145).

[16] As often, the ŚB. shows greater uniformity, using consequently the style *suyamāna-* in its discussion of the ratnin offerings.

the realm" The MS calls them the "limbs" (*anga*) of dominion (*kṣattra-*)[17] These elements, or "limbs", which together make up the kingship, must be concentrated, integrated by the king, or in the words of the ŚB he makes the ratnas his own in order that they will not leave him (*svam anapakramiṇam karoti*) The king in this situation may be compared with Prajapati as presiding over the eleven fold animal sacrifice (ekādasinī) We are told that Prajapati after his creative activity is exhausted, and that his creatures, offspring (*prajāh*) go away from him, the disintegrated Prajāpati is then restored, filled again (*apyayate*), by means of the eleven-fold – mark the correspondence with the eleven ratnins – animal sacrifice, the *prajah* return to him and the vital functions (voice, food, cattle, etc) are reintegrated in him[18] Like Prajapati, the king integrates the dispersed elements, the "limbs" of the kingship, tying them together in his person As may be expected, this idea is also borne out by the numerical arrangement of the ratnin offerings "these (offerings or ratnins) number eleven, the triṣṭubh metre has eleven syllables, the triṣṭubh is vital force (*vīrya-*),[19] he stands firm in the vital force, he obtains the differentiated (*nanā*) blessings of these (offerings or ratnins),[20] if he would make these offerings together they would be non-ratnins (i e they would form an undifferentiated mass) (The sacred tradition has it that) a cake on eleven potsherds for Indra should be offered in the house of the king, Indra is the vital force (*indriya-*), together verily the blessing of (this) sacrifice is established in the sacrificer, for the sacrificer is Indra"[21] The gist of this passage is that the king correctly articulating the ratnas on the number eleven makes them efficacious, and, being himself the extra element, encompasses and integrates in his person the elements of royalty, the ratnas, and their cosmo-mythological correspondents, the gods to whom is offered,[22] and thus becomes efficient, possessed of vital force

When dealing with the symbolism of numbers it has already been seen that the extra element is often the principle of regeneration, the male element entering the female ones as an embryo (e g Dhātr with regard to the

[17] TB 1,7,3,1, MS 4, p 47 3

[18] *On the ekadaśini rite, cf* Āp 14,5–7, ŚB 3,9,1,1 ff, MS 4,7,8 TS 6 6,5 This sacrifice is recommended for the purpose of the restoration of a banished king

[19] Cf also MS 4,7,8 103 12, dealing with the ekadaśini sacrifice this passage says that by this sacrifice Prajāpati once more obtains the eleven *indriyāni vīryāni*

[20] The ' blessing" (*āśis*) refers probably to the wish for the king's slaying of Vṛtra, and which, acc. to Baudh , is uttered by the ratnins from whose house he returns

[21] MS 4, p 48 9–12

[22] On the king s uniting in himself the ' jewels" and their divine prototypes, *cf* A M Hocart, *Kingship*, p 116 For the king as made up from parts of the gods, cf Mānava DhŚ 7,5

the embryo of the people [25] Here in the ratnin episode, however, we are mainly concerned with the aspect pairing or conception, represented by the king entering the houses of the ratnins, the counterpart to the ratnin episode may be found in the proclamation of the king before the ratnins (during the devasuvām havimsi) by which ceremony his birth is signified, it may also be found in the game of dice in which king and ratnins participate and which is linked with the present episode by the inclusion in it of the aksāvāpa and the cow slaughterer

Hitherto the ratnins have been treated as a whole Now we shall endeavour to give a more detailed account of the composition of the ratnin list In the first place we must refrain from considering their names as clues giving information on the actual organization of the royal government Here, in their ritual context, these personages are rather to be considered symbols of various phenomena In this way we can account for the different and often contradictory explanations of the ratnin names given by the commentators A single instance may suffice to illustrate this The samgrahitr is said to be a charioteer but also a tax collector There is, however, a clear coherence between both explanations holding the reins of a chariot is, symbolically speaking, the same as holding the "*financial reins of the realm*" [27]

The ratnin list completely lacks a clear-cut system Royal consorts, governmental or household dignitaries, and artisans are incoherently mixed up in the list To all appearance different systems have become confused, possibly under the influence of a system of congruencies based on the number eleven or twelve, carried through in the articulation of the ratnin list and superseding other numerical systems [28] What the original system might have been can be seen in the aśvamedha where the royal consorts are, though not brought together in a ratnin list, classified together with categories of priests, charioteers and headmen, and the points of the compass, all connected, as it seems, by the number four The four royal consorts are joined by four groups of attendants the

[26] Cf PB 2 7,5, ŚB 5,3 4,11, MS 4,4 9 60 19

[27] For the comparison yoking the chariot – yoking the kingdom, cf TS 3,4 8 2. For the comparison reins – tax-collecting, cf JUB 1,44,5 "the sun has a thousand rays (or reins, *raśmi*) these are yoked, by means of them he takes all this"

[28] The number eleven is expressly stated by ŚB 5,3,1,12 to be the number of the ratnas, for the purpose of maintaining this number and the *sampad* implied by it (the triṣṭubh the 11 indriyāṇi viryāṇi) the akṣāvāpa and the govikartr are made into one ratna (*sampadaḥ kāmāya*, ŚB 5 3,1,11) The Taittiriyakas set great store by the number twelve, this being the number of the months of the year (TB 1,7,3,6)

vaisya-grāmanī) and the sūdras As to this last group, it is made clear by the ŚB that they too are represented, for the Soma-Rudra işţi is declared to be a purificatory rite necessitated by the participation of śudras in the ratnin offerings [34]

These three groups, which originally may have been related to each other in the same way as similar groups are in the asvamedha, rally round the king. This idea is to be found expressed also in a hymn of the A V (3, 4), where the people and the directions of space (st 2), the relatives, wives and sons (st 3), the gods (st 4) are conjured to gather round the king One of the objects of the gathering seems there to be the presentation of tribute (st 3,7) and its counterpart the distribution of gifts (st 2,4), which exchange cements the union of king and subjects [35]) The hymn further shows a marked resemblance to the circumstances of the present ratnin ceremony where it mentions Agni going along as a speedy messenger (st 3), and the "wealthy (divinities) of the roads" which make wide room for the king (st 7) In the ratnin offerings too Agni goes along accompanying the king on his tour of the ratnin houses, while the divinity of the road is honoured in one of the offerings Viewed in this light the object of the gathering of the ratnins round the royal place of sacrifice may originally also have been a ceremonious (yearly) presentation of tribute and distribution of gifts [36] The ritualists seem to have eliminated this aspect by translating it into their own ritual idiom the king collects the "blessings", the wishes uttered by the ratnins at the işţis for which they have to provide the materials and the dakşinas However, the essence of the matter, the concord of king and subjects – a paramount concern in the quoted AV hymn too –, is preserved and given powerful expression the king touring the ratnins in the same way as the sun – mark the fire accompanying the king – visits the parts of the universe, enters into a marriage like bond with them The idea of marriage and consequently of entering the womb in view of rebirth is in the ratnin ceremonies most clearly represented by the group of royal consorts and related personages, but a similar idea seems to underly the group of personages connected with the

[34] Cf ŚB 5 3 2,2 Who exactly are these śūdra ratnins is not said Possibly the takşa rathakāra is meant (cf Caland's notes on Āp 5 3,19), the akşāvāpa and govikartr are perhaps also considered śūdras

[35] The hymn is used, acc to Kauś 16 30 in a rite for the restoration of a king to his former kingdom but the wording of the hymn suggests rather a connection with the *inauguration durbar of a newly chosen king than the restoration of a deposed king*

[36] Cf also JB 2,25–26 quoted above where the sun is represented collecting the specific qualities inherent to the different parts of the universe, which in their turn receive a share in their solar king.

chariot, who two by two surround the king, and being "king-makers" may well be connected with the idea of the embryonic covers,[37] while the four varnas also may be considered as a womb from which the king is to be born, to "break loose", as he is actually shown to do in the dicing ceremony The marriage bond is particularly clear in the case of the brahman priest (or royal chaplain, purohita) as the relation between the king and his purohita, or in a more general way the relation between the royal and the priestly powers is generally conceived of as a marriage [38]

Viewed in this way we can put the charioteers and the representatives of the four varṇas on a par with the royal consorts as wombs or embryonic covers which the king enters and from which he is born a year later – during which period he is a dikṣita, i e an embryo[39] – in the rites of the unction festival, where the ratnins will again play an important role [40]

Now the embryonic state is one in which danger is imminent, the embryonic covers are not only protective but may also harm the embryo [41] The evil aspect is represented by the last ratnin and is disposed of in his

[37] As we shall learn later, when discussing the chariot drive (or raid) to which episode the offerings in the houses of the ratnins connected with charioteering seem a prelude, the chariot drive is closely bound up with royal (re)birth and cosmic recreation The sexual symbolism of chariot fighting is clearly indicated in the stanzas used in the aśvamedha when the sacrificer is equipped for a symbolic chariot forray (TS 4,6,6,1–2, cf Āp 20,16 4 ff) It may be interesting to note that battle and sexual union are often intimately connected, as for instance in Celtic – at least in its insular, Irish branch – mythology (cf M L Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*, London, 1949, p 29 f , also p 35, p 76)

[38] Cf Oldenberg *R d V*, p 376 Keith, *R Ph V*, p 341, J Gonda, "Purohita", *Studia Indologica* (Festschr W Kirfel) Bonn 1955, p 107 f A K Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (Am. Or Ser 22) (New Haven, 1922) For the counterpart of marriage, the birth of the king from the brahman power cf ŚB 14 4,2,23 (BĀU 1,4 11), where the brahman power is called the womb of the royal power Cf also MS 4, p 55 10 "the brahman (priest) at the sacrifice is Prajāpati out of Prajāpati Indra (prototype of the royal sacrificer) was born (*asuyata*)

[39] In this connection TB 's insistence on the number twelve of the ratnins is interesting ' the year (has) twelve months through the year he obtains the realm' (1,7,3,6)

[40] In this connection we may still point to the eight ' important persons" (*vīra-*), who acc. to PB 19,1,4, sustain together the kingship and amongst whom the king is anointed the king s brother, the king's son, the purohita, the queen, the sūta, the grāmaṇī, the kṣattṛ and the saṃgrahītṛ In this list, which strongly resembles our ratnin list, we can easily discern two symmetrical groups four relatives brother, son, purohita, the queen (the purohita can approximately be considered as the king s ritual father), and four persons connected with charioteering The king's relatives are as so many representatives of his kin, from which he is born and who also at his unction birth surround him they are paralleled by the four charioteers, connected with his battle birth in the chariot drive

[41] Cf ŚB 6,6,1,24 ' The secundines do not harm the embryo ', as against ŚB 7,2,1,5, where the secundines fall in line with *pāpman-*, evil

house. Thus in the WhYV. we see that in the house of the parivṛttī, Nirṛti is put off and the parivṛttī is sent away.[42] In the BlYV. this role is assigned to the dicing surveyor-slaughterer, in the house of which an iṣṭi for Rudra is performed: "at the end he offers to Rudra (to make him go away)".[43] In the same sphere lie also the counter-offerings for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Amhomuc (BlYV.), the offering to Soma-Rudra (WhYV.); their function is the protection of the royal embryo in the womb with a view to its safe birth.

[42] The fact that she, acc. to Sāyaṇa, takes refuge in the house of a brahmin, may perhaps be connected with the idea of putting back the dangerous cover in the womb which bore the king, the brahman power; cf. the discussion of the Nirṛti and kṣetriya rites.

[43] TB 1,7,3,5, MS 4, p 48 8 We find this idea also in the ekādaśini animal sacrifice; there it is Varuṇa who is put off: "at the end he sacrifices an animal for Varuṇa, thus he releases him from Varuṇa's fetter, from all that is connected with Varuṇa" (ŚB. 3,9,1,21).

Though the caru consists of two different portions the WhYV expressly states that they form only one offering [9] The BlYV, however, considers it an iṣṭi consisting of two separate offerings, like the new- and full moon iṣṭis Hir consequently specifies that the nirvapana (the first occasion where the names of divinities to whom the iṣṭi is destined are mentioned) should be performed separately for the two portions [9]

A special procedure is laid down for cooking the caru After the caru dish with Bṛhaspati's portion has been cooked, Mitra's wooden dish is put on top of it,[10] the self produced ghee and the grains of rice are then poured into it In this way Mitra's portion is cooked on the steam, being thus "self cooked' (*svaj aṃ śṛta*, ŚB 5, 3, 2, 8)

The dakṣiṇa is the white cow feeding a white calf, that has provided the milk for this iṣṭi (TS, TB), or a horse for Mitra's offering, and a white-backed ox for Bṛhaspati s offering (MS, KS, the latter mentions as an alternative the white cow), or a bull (WhYV) [11]

ANNOTATIONS

The maitrabārhaspatya iṣṭi is intimately connected with the ratnin episode In the WhYV the Soma Rudra iṣṭi which there is the conclud ing counterpart to the ratnin offerings, and the maitrabarhaspatya iṣṭi are even in a way ritual doublets both iṣṭis are considered to atone for the sacrificer s associating ratnins of śudra origin with the sacrifice We seem therefore justified in applying the conclusion as to the meaning of the Rudra Soma and Aṃhomuc Sutraman iṣṭis, reached above, also to the maitrabarhaspatya iṣṭi, so that it may be assumed that the present iṣṭi is also concerned with the safeguarding of the royal embryo in the womb

[9] Cf ŚB 5 3 2 8 Kāty 15 3 45

[9] Cf Hillebrandt *N V O* p 24 Both possibilities united and separated nirvapana are recorded in Baudh s dvaidhasutra (22,17 141 16) The eventual separation of the two havişes takes place as stated by Āp and Hir after the first husking (*triṣphali karana*, cf *N V O* p 29) Thus is the usual procedure in the case of an iṣṭi consisting of more than one offerings among which are carus (cf Ap 24 3 20 where *prāg adhi a panāt* refers to the second adhivapana the one performed with a view to grinding the grains not as Caland interprets, the first adhivapana performed with a view to husking) The husking is then completed for Mitra s rice only A similar procedure will probably have been adopted in case small and big or broken and unbroken rice grains were prescribed though this is not on record

[10] Hir s comm adds that the Mitra dish is fastened with cords and smeared with clay

[11] I can not agree with Caland (ad Āp 18 11 23) who supposes the single dakṣinā of TS TB to indicate that the two portions formed a single offering The less so as Baudh handles the two portions separately (12 6 93 8 ff)

cut expression in the production of the Mitra ghee as described by Baudh. On each of the ratnin days a cow is milked and the milk is poured on that of the preceding day to make it thicken This recalls the sun drinking day after day the milk of the earth-cow and the heaven-bull [16] When discussing the ratnin episode we already observed that the king imitates the sun's circulation round the parts of the universe The parallel gains substance on taking into account Mitra's solar nature [17] The ghee which rises by itself when driven round on a chariot (sun-chariot?) drawn by animals who are told "to fly away"[18] seems to be another indication of the solar character of the process The sunlike circulation has an engendering effect as exemplified by the production of the ghee – in its first stage paralleling the king's sunlike circulation among the ratnins, then again put in circulating motion on what seems the sun's chariot The most important feature of this engendering process is its self-dependence, stressed in all the details of the present iṣṭi in which the main implements and materials should be self produced The king, equalling the sun which encompasses and regulates space and time and is occasionally called *svayaṃbhū-* (VS 2,20), engenders himself, performing all by himself the cosmic process of ripening and birth

[16] RV 1,160 3 (cf Geldner, Der RigVeda übersetzt , *HOS* 33, p 219) cf also 1,79,3

[17] Cf Macdonell *V M*, p 29 The fact that Mitra s dish is quadrangular is possibly to be related to Mitra's solar character Cf ŚB 14 3,1,17, where the sun is stated to be quadrangular (this points to the sun s relation with the four points of the compass)

[18] ŚB 5,3 2,6 *dedi)ṣṭavā āha* Kāṇva recension *dedyadhvam iti*

VIII

UNCTION FESTIVAL

(*ABHISECANĪYAH*, GENERALITIES)

The unction festival is a normal Soma sacrifice of the ukthya form,[1] that means that to the twelve rounds (consisting each of a Soma libation, a stotra and a śastra) are added three more rounds which are incorporated in the evening service.[2]

The number of dikṣā and upasad days preceding the festival, as given by the sutra authors, varies widely. According to Kāty. 15,4,2 there are one dikṣā day and three upasad days, so that the whole paradigma takes up five days. Baudh. 12,7 93 13 states the number of dikṣa days to be undetermined (*aparimita-*) and that of the upasad days as six. Āp. and Hir. prescribe a year-long dikṣā, in the last ten days of the dikṣa year fall the unction festival and the daśapeya, which latter follows on the tenth day after the unction festival and thus closes the year.

The unction festival is connected with the daśapeya festival by the samsṛps, and the WhYV. goes even so far as to consider them as forming one framework.[3] The pivotal point here is the Soma purchase. According to the WhYV., followed in this respect by Āp. and Hir., the Soma is bought for both festivals together on one day.[4] The Taittirīyakas have a similar rule: "On the same day they perform the dikṣā, on the same day they buy the Soma" (*sadyo dīkṣayanti, sadyaḥ somaṃ krīnanti*),[5] this rule refers, however, only to the daśapeya and is by the sūtra authors interpreted as prescribing that the dikṣā and the first upasad day (the day when the Soma is bought) for the daśapeya coincide. Accordingly the daśapeya is in the BlYV. separated from the unction festival, each having its own framework. The similarity of the two rules for the Soma

[1] TB. 1,8,7,2, MS. 4 4 10: 61 17, Kāty. 15,4,49.

[2] For the ukthya cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 137. Āp. 14,1,6–10.

[3] Cf. the technical discussion on this point: Kāty. 15 8,10–13. See further: Daśapeya, description.

[4] Cf. ŚB. 5,4,5,15, Kāty. 15,4,3 8,10, Āp. 18,12,2–3, Hir. 13,5,2.

[5] TS. 1,8,18,1, TB. 1,8,2,1.

purchase suggests, however, that they originated from one and the same rule interpreted in two different ways by the Vājasaneyins and the Taittiriyakas

The liturgical particulars need not detain us here [6] Suffice it to notice that the three pavamāna lauds (the lauds that introduce respectively the morning, midday and evening services of the sutyā day) are composed of thirty four verses (stotriya)[7] and that the stotras of the three services are composed respectively of fifteen, seventeen and twenty-one verses This latter feature connects the unction festival with the hair-cutting festival which begins with twenty one versed stotras in the morning-service followed by seventeen versed stotras in the midday service and fifteen versed ones in the evening service (*praticinastoma*) Thus the two sacrifices represent respectively ascension to the sky and descent to the earth [8]

Two separate chapters will be devoted to the dakṣinās given at this festival (Dakṣinas) and the concluding rites (End of the Unction festival)

In the Soma paradigma, outlined above, the unction and related rites are intercalated To these rites the following chapters are devoted Here it may be noticed how these rites are intercalated in the Soma paradigma

To begin with the devasu offerings are performed on the last upasad days According to the WhYV the different sorts of water needed for the unction are drawn and poured together on the same day after the conclusion of the devasū offerings [9] The processing of the waters is then resumed on the following the sutya day The BlYV, however has all the rites pertaining to the preparation of the unction fluid performed on the sutyā day together with the other royal rites

The royal rites form a block inserted in the midday service of the sutya day, about the time of the drawing and offering of the mahendra-graha (CH no 198 ff) As to the exact places taken up by the block of royal rites in the Soma paradigma, the sūtra authors differ We shall here summarize the views of Baudh Ap and Katy

Baudh's account starts the royal rites when the adhvaryu is about to offer the dakṣina libations (CH no 191a) with the yoking of the chariots later to be used in the chariot drive This act coincides with the

[6] For details cf PB 18 8 3 18 10 1 10

[7] Cf TB 1 8 7 1 Baudh 12,16 1 11 12 MS 4 4 10 61 12 PB 18 8 3 diverges prescribing thirty two verses

[8] Cf PB 18 10 8 10 Further see Hair-cutting festival

[9] Probably the drawing of the unction waters is synchronized with the drawing of the vasativari waters, CH no 109

act of preparing the dakṣinas After the daksina rites follow the drawing and processing of the unction waters and the other rites up to the chariot drive The chariot drive is synchronized with the rites pertaining to the mahendragraha (stotra śastra offering of mahendragraha CH nos 199 201) Between the offering of the mahendragraha and the subsequent drinking of the remainder of this graha by the hotr and the adhvaryu (CH no 201) the enthronement the dicing episode and the recitation of the Śunahśepa legend are inserted Thus the whole is framed in between the daksina libations and the drinking of the remainder of the mahendragraha (CH nos 191 201)

Āpastamba places the block of royal rites somewhat later The rites concerning the unction waters are performed directly after the libations of the third marutvatiya libation (CH no 197)[10] The unction then coincides with the stotra (CH no 198)[11] The other rites follow in due order and are concluded before the offering of the mahendragraha (CH no 201)[12] Thus Ap performs the royal rites concurrently with the rites pertaining to the mahendragraha (CH nos 198–201)

Katy inserts the whole block of royal rites between the offering of the third marutvatiyagraha and the subsequent drawing of the mahendra graha (CH nos 197 198)[13]

Beside the Soma sacrifice the royal rites especially the unction are framed in yet another way In the first place there is an iṣṭi comprising an *amiksa for Mitra and Varuna* (WhYV) or a cake on twenty one potsherds for the Maruts and an amikṣa for the Visve Devah the performance of this isti spans the whole block The svistakrt and iḍa rites of this iṣṭi conclude the block of royal rites [14]

Further there are the twelve so-called pārtha libations the first six of which are performed before the other six after the unction The gods to whom they are offered are Agni Soma Savitr Sarasvati Puṣan Brhaspati Indra sound (*ghoṣa*) verse (*sloka*) Aṁśa Bhaga the Lord

[10] Āp 18 12 11

[11] Āp 18 15 10 The same moment is prescribed by him for the unction in the vajapeya sacrifice Hir 13 2,20 with more precision stipulates that the vajapeya unction is performed when the adhvaryu has brought near the relevant stotra (CH no 199 b) This moment is probably meant here also

[12] Āp 18 20 1

[13] Kāty 15 5 1 7 23 cf also ŚB 5 3,5 2 5 4 4 25

[14] Baudh 12, pp 100 8 ff 102.15 110 8 Āp 18 12 11 12. 15 2–4 19 15 17 Kāty 15 4 50 6 36 7,23 Baudh has the sv ṣtakṛt performed after the unction and the iḍa rite at the end of the block of royal rites The Marut cake gives opportunity for an incantatory rite against an enemy As such it occurs also outside the rajasuya in the Maitrayaṇiya school (cf Āp 18 15 3 Caland *Weihopfer* no 65)

of the Field (Kṣetrapati) Besides the Taittiriyakas prescribe twelve libations called "offerings to the Bhūtas (in order to remove them)" (*bhutanam aveṣṭa)ah*), six before and six after the unction or, as Baudh. prescribes all twelve are offered after the second partha series The bhutas are earth, atmosphere, sky, sun, moon, constellations, waters, plants, trees, moving creatures, swimming creatures, creeping creatures [15]

ANNOTATIONS

The framing of the royal rites in a set of sacrifices (Soma sacrifice, Marut cake, partha libations) layered like covers round them is not merely the effect of accumulation devised for greater impressiveness This framing has a clear-cut function in the thought of the Vedic ritualists. It expresses the birth of the sacrificer out of the sacrifice (or of the brahman power) by virtue of which he realizes his identity with the cosmos, becomes the cosmic man (Prajapati) As will be observed the unction marks the king s (re)birth This birth is made into a birth out of the sacrifice by the device of placing it right in the middle of the Soma sacrifice 'Prajapati is the sacrifice that is woven (*ta)ate*) (and) from him these creatures are born, as an effect of that (sacrifice) they are born also at the present day, therefore (the priest) places (the sacrificer) in the middle of that Prajapati (who is the sacrifice) from the middle (the priest) quickens (or engenders *suvati*) him [16] The same statement is made about the amikṣa for the Viśve Devaḥ which iṣṭi spans the whole of the block of royal rites as well as about the partha libations which fence in the unction [17] The same significance seems also to be attached to the devasū offerings which as will be argued in the next chapter, were originally also intended to frame the unction while the most significant expression given to the idea of birth out of sacrifice by means of framing it in a sacrificial performance is to be found in the offering of the sūtavaśa cow at the conclusion of the unction festival [18]

Against this background may be set the speculations on the framing iṣṭi and libations The Maruts and the Viśve Devah are often equated to the people (*viśah, prajah*) [19] Thus the unction placed in the midst of the performance of an iṣṭi for the Maruts and the Viśve Devaḥ can be con-

[15] Baudh 12 p t01,2 t02 13 ff Āp 18 15 8-9 16 1t t2 Kāty 15 5,2.34
[16] ŚB. 5 3 5 1 for the s gnificance of *suvati* see Devasuvam havimṣi annotations where a sim lar passage will be discussed in more detail
[17] Cf respectively ŚB 5 4 4,24 5 3 5 6.
[18] Cf chapter End of the Unct on festival
[19] Cf e.g TB 2,7 2,2 ŚB 2 5,2 6 27 3 9 1 16–17

sidered an abstract ritual idiom expressing the birth of the king – the embryo of the people – out of the people. The twelve pārtha libations are equated to the year.[20] Considering the king's year-long embryonic state as dikṣita before the unction and the general character of the rājasūya as a yearly regeneration rite, it may safely be assumed that they express the idea of the king's birth out of the year, or after a year-long period of ripening. The king's year-long dikṣā is congruent with the year-long ripening process in the universe, and his unction birth seems, originally, to have been connected with the ripening of the crops. This accounts for the stress laid on the king's obtaining food or even "all food" by means of the Marut cake and the pārtha libations.[21] In this connection it may be noticed that the partha libations derive their name from the mythic king Pṛthi Vainya, who obtained all food by means of these libations.[22] The same Pṛthi is said to have "milked" both milk and agriculture (*kṛṣṭi-*) from the cosmogonic cow Virāj.[23] Having the partha libations performed in connection with his unction, the king thus seems to re-enact Pṛthi's feat of milking the Virāj cow, in other words to make the animal and vegetable world yield their fruits, the ripening of which coincides with the king's preceding dikṣā. Thus the king's dikṣā and unction birth can be considered to represent the cosmic processes of ripening and birth. This meaning of the king's unction birth is given transcendental, cosmic effect by its being made a birth out of the sacrifice enacted on the place of sacrifice, the ideal model of the universe.

In birth, however, death is also implied, the embryonic covers are at once protective and dangerous, as noticed earlier when dealing with the Anumati-Nirṛti offerings. The death aspect of the unction which will recur in the unction ceremony itself, is here represented in the "offerings to the Bhūtas". By these offerings death is "offered away".[24] The bhūtas (beings concerned with fertility and growth) as addressed in the formulas are the parts of the universe, articulated into four groups of three entities each (earth, atmosphere, sky, etc.). In this respect these libations can be compared to the offerings to the quarters of space (in order to remove them) (*diśām aveṣṭayaḥ*) at the close of the daśapeya festival: the king, having been enveloped as an embryo during the maturing process to the

[20] TB 1,7,7,5, ŚB 5,3,5,5, MS 4,4,5: 54.18.
[21] TB 1,7,7,3, ŚB 5,3,5,4.
[22] ŚB 1c.
[23] AV 8,10,24. On Pṛthi Vainya, cf. J. Gonda, "Ancient Indian Kingship", *Numen*, 4, (1957), fasc. 2.
[24] TB 1,7,7,5.

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[15] Baudh. 12, p 101,2 102 13 ff , Āp 18 15,8 9 16,11–12 Kāty 15,5,2 34
[16] ŚB 5,3 5 1, for the significance of *suvati* see Devasuvām havirniṣṭi annotations where a similar passage will be discussed in more detail
[17] Cf respectively ŚB 5 4,4,24 5 3,5 6
[18] Cf chapter End of the Unction festival.
[19] Cf e g TB 2 7 2,2, ŚB 2 5,2,6 27, 3 9,1,16–17

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[21] TB 1,7,7,3. ŚB 5.3,5,4.
[22] ŚB l.c.
[23] AV 8,10,24. On Pṛthi Vainya, cf. J. Gonda, 'Ancient Indian Kingship', *Numen*, 4, (1957) fasc. 2.
[24] TB 1,7,7,5.

parts of the universe or in the quarters of space, discards by offering his embryonic covers when born [25]

The following chapters will be devoted to a detailed consideration of how the cosmic regeneration and the (re)birth of the king are ritually realized within the compass of the unction festival

[25] Cf chapter Offering to the Quarters of Space annotations. For the offering of the embryonic covers (in order to remove them) cf Iṣṭi for Anumati and Nirṛti, annotations

IX

OFFERINGS TO THE DEVASŪ GODS

(*DEVASUVĀM HAVĪMSI*)

TS 1,8,10, TB 1,7,4, MS 2,6,6, 4,3,9, KS 15,5, VS 9,39–40, ŚB 5,3,3
Baudh 12, p 94 10 (cf 10,55,56), Āp 18,12,4–10, Hir 13,5,3–6, Katy 15,4,4–19

On the eve of the unction festival (the last upasad day) a series of eight gods, called in this connection *devasu-* (divine instigators or "gottliche Zeuger", as Weber prefers), is presented with offerings These offerings are fitted into the framework of the cake offering, which forms part of the animal sacrifice for Agni and Soma, performed, according to the paradigma of the Soma sacrifice, on the last upasad day [1]

The eight devasu gods and their offerings are the following

			made of
1	Agni Gṛhapati (Lord of the House)	cake on 8 potsherds	black rice (TS) *āpatanta* (?MS) *quickly ripening (early) rice* (*āśu* KS, WhYV)
2	Soma Vanaspati (Lord of Trees)	caru	millet
3	Savitṛ Satyaprasava (whose instigation is true, efficacious)	cake on 12 potsherds (8, MS, KS)	quickly ripening (early) rice (*aśu* TS) pisum arvense (*satina* MS, KS.) *plāśuka* (WhYV)[2]
4	Rudra Paśupati (Lord of Cattle)	caru	gavidhuka

[1] Cf CH no 106 g, Schwab, *Theropfer*, nos 87, 88, 93 The devasu offerings are made in the interval between the chief offering of the paśupuroḍāśa and its sviṣṭakṛt offering, the sviṣṭakṛt rite is then performed once for both the paśupuroḍaśa and the devasū offerings Acc. to Kāty 15,4,19, however, the devasu offerings can also have their own framework In that case the sviṣṭakṛt rite for the devasū offerings is separated from that for the paśupuroḍāśa, each of the two rites having its own praiṣa (resp *yaja* and *preṣya*, cf Kāty 15,4,4) These alternatives seem to originate in the different views of the Kāṇvas and the Madhyandinas, the former being in favour of separated frameworks, the latter of a united one (cf Weber, p 33)

[2] Interpreted by Sāyaṇa (ad ŚB 5,3,3,2) as *prāśu(ka)-*, very quickly (ripening crop)

5	Bṛhaspati Vācaspati (Lord of Speech)	caru	wild rice
6	Indra Jyeṣṭha (the Pre-eminent)	cake on 11 potsherds (caru WhYV)	large rice (*mahāvrīhi* , TS) red rice (*hāyana* , MS , KS , WhYV)[3]
7	Mitra Satya (the True)	caru	*āmba-* (?KS , TS) *nāmba-* (?MS , WhYV)[4]
8	Varuṇa Dharmapati (Lord of Holy Order)	caru (cake on 10 potsherds KS)	barley

Differences with regard to the sequence of the gods bear only on the place of Savitṛ and Rudra Savitṛ takes up the first place (WhYV), the second (KS) or the third place (TS as above), and Rudra the sixth (WhYV) the fourth (TS as above) or the last, eighth place (MS , KS), the other gods maintain their sequence with regard to each other [5]

In passing it should be noticed that the fact that each offering is made of a different substance necessitates a special procedure for keeping apart the sacrificial substances which are normally processed together and separated only later on [6]

After the chief offerings to the devasu gods have been made and before the offering to Agni Svistakrt the following episode is inserted the brahman priest (Baudh Āp) takes the sacrificer by the hand with the formula

[3] The distinctive feature of this crop is acc to ŚB 5 3 3 6 its being *atiṣṭha-*, standing above outgrowing (other crops) explaining in this way its connection with Indra (who also stands above all other beings) Sayaṇa, however takes *atiṣṭha-* to refer to the long period of its ripening this period taking up a year s time (*saṃvatsarapakva*) Summing up *hāyana* is a kind of crop producing red rice (Sayaṇa *raktaśaḥ*) growing high and taking a year s time for ripening. Weber referring to Avestic *zayana-*, winter suggests that it might be a sort of winter rice (p 30)

[4] Acc to ŚB 5 3 3 8 th s is a crop growing on unt lled soil This peculiarity is related to the nature of Mitra who does harm to no one in contradistinction to Mitra Varuṇa s sacrificial substance has grown on ploughed soil. On this opposition between Mitra and Varuṇa cf also ŚB 5 3 2,7

[5] Thus we find at the end of the series everywhere either Varuṇa or Rudra This fact is probably related to the idea to be observed also to the ratnin offerings, that the last of a series is the bearer of the dangerous aspect of the powers involved in the series at the end he offers to Rudra (in order to remove him) or "at the end he sacrifices the victim for Varuṇa thus he frees him from Varuṇa s noose , as is stated with regard to the ratnin offerings and the ekādaśini sacrifice (cf the discussion on the ratnin offerings) In this connection it is interesting that acc to Baudh. 10 56 59 4 the iḍā portion of the Rudra caru is not offered in the fire together with those of the other offerings, but thrown into deep water

[6] Cf Baudh 10 55 58 1 ff The question which acts and accompanying formulas are to be repeated for each substance and which acts and formulas refer to the whole of the substances (*tantra-*) is answered in detail by Baudh 22,11 133 1 ff

"May Savitr quicken thee (for dominion) of the quickeners, Agni of the lords of the house, Soma of the lords of the trees, Rudra of cattle, Bṛhaspati of speech, Indra of the pre eminent ones, Mitra of the true ones, Varuṇa of the lords of the order "[7]

"Ye gods that are divine quickeners, do ye quicken him, descendant of N N (acc to MS also the name of the mother is mentioned), to freedom from foes, to great lordship, to great overlordship, to great rule over the people "

Thus the adhvaryu[8] proclaims him to the ratnins [9]

"This is your king, O Bhāratas" (respectively Kurus, Pañcālas, Kuru Pañcālas, or simply people, *janata-*, Āp)

The brahman whispers in answer

"Soma is the king of us brahmins "[10]

Baudh has this second half of the proclamation formula uttered by the "others" (the ratnins?) in reply to the first half

Then, according to the BlYV , the sacrificer wipes his face during the recitation of two stanzas in which Varuna is mentioned

"This kingdom has verily been conferred, Varuna has fastened (*aśiśret*, MS , KS *asuṣot*, has engendered) his own body We have become obedient to pure Mitra, we have magnified the name of the great holy order "

"They (MS KS we) have all become the hosts of Varuṇa Mitra in his course has overcome the foes The worshipful ones have put themselves in accordance with the holy order, Tṛta has pervaded (*ānaṭ*) our decay (with new force) "[11]

The conclusion of this episode is formed by the three "Viṣnu strides" (TS , TB) which the sacrificer performs by stepping out thrice towards the east (Āp , Hir)

ANNOTATIONS

With the devasuvam havimṣi, as the word *devasu* suggests, we enter the

[7] The differences as to the order of succession are on the same line as above. Here Savitr takes the first place everywhere

[8] Thus acc to comm ad Hir 13 5 4 the brahman takes him by the hand, the adhvaryu proclaims him

[9] The ratnins are here mentioned by Āp only

[10] The proclamation formula is lacking here in MS and KS , who record it with the āvid formulas later on (see Preparation of the sacrificer), TS repeats it there The WhYV repeats the proclamation formula and the preceding one at the unction

[11] MS and KS record these two stanzas only later on, when the sacrificer steps down from the chariot after his chariot drive (cf MS 2 6,12 71 6, KS 15,8 215 5)

sphere of the sacrifices known as *sava-*, i e sacrifices generally following the paradigma of the one-day long Soma sacrifice, the distinctive feature of which is the insertion of an unction The present offerings occur not only in the unction festival of the rajasūya but also in the other sacrifices of the sava category, such as the agnicayana (also called agniṣava), the vājapeya (bṛhaspatiṣava) and the aśvamedha,[12] while these offerings are also inserted at the conclusion of the normal Soma paradigma in case the sacrificer is a king or on the point of becoming one [13] It will presently become apparent that the devasuvāṃ havirṃṣi are closely related to the unction

Traditionally we distinguish three roots *sū- su-*, *sunoti*, to press (the Soma plant), *su-*, *suvati*, to impel, to consecrate, *su* , *sūte*, to procreate [14] Apart from the question as to whether these roots are etymologically related, it should be kept in mind that the Vedic thinkers, in their desire to connect conceptually different notions, take advantage of forms and derivatives common to all three roots Thus, for instance, birth and Soma pressing are intertwined in AV 1, 11, 1 "Let Aryaman as efficient hotṛ priest utter the vaṣaṭ call for thee, O Puṣan, at this birth (or Soma pressing, *sūtau*), may this woman be relaxed, may her joints go apart in order to give birth "[15] Also the roots *sū* , to impel, to consecrate, and *sū* , to procreate, often coincide Savitr, the impeller, is said to cause the creatures, offspring (*prajah*), to be born (*prâjanayat*) [16] The plaśuka seed used for Savitr's cake is explained by ŚB 5, 3, 3, 2 by the sacrificer's wish *kṣipre mā prasuvan* (may they speedily impel, quicken me), which recalls the kṣipraprasavana ceremony intended to secure a speedy parturition [17] This becomes the more plausible on reading ŚB 5, 3, 3, 15 explaining the insertion of the devasu offerings between the chief offering and the sviṣṭakṛt offering of the agniṣomiya-paśupuroḍāśa ' Prajâpati is the sacrifice

[12] Cf Baudh 10,55–56 11,2 65 11 Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no 353 and p 315

[13] Cf Âp 13,24 8

[14] On the notions covered by these verbs and their derivatives, cf J Gonda "Skt '*utsava*', festival , *India Antiqua* (*presented to J Ph Vogel*) (Leyden 1947), p 146 ff

[15] Cf M Bloomfield *SBE*, 42, p 243 The hymn is used in a charm for easy parturition Sāyaṇa takes sūtau as from sūti and meaning the birth ritual Accent and gender are unaccounted for For a similar play upon the forms *soṣyati asoṣṭa*, cf ChU 3,17,5

[16] TB 1,6,2,2. 4 1, cf also TS 1,7,7c at the engendering of strength (*vājasya nu prasave*, on this expression cf J Gonda, *o c* , p 149) with our speech we proclaim Aditi by name into whom all this world has entered in her may divine Savitr instigate cosmic order for us (*Savitā dharma savisat*)" The context strongly suggests that the instigation connotes engendering birth It is interesting to note that ŚB 5 1 4 4, commenting upon this formula renders *dharma-* by *yajamāna-* the sacrificer is quickened, engendered in Aditi

[17] Cf HirGS 2 2 8, GobhGS 2 7,13 ff

spheres of action – "he becomes all this", as TB 1, 7, 4, 1–2 says in explanation of the hand taking formula – in the same way as having entered the ratnins or the *visah* he integrates them upon his birth from them

An interesting problem arises from the proclamation "N N is your king, o Bhāratas – Soma is the king of us, brahmins" Wherein resides Soma's kingship over the brahmins, and what is the relation of Soma's kingship to that of the human king? Weber dismisses the problem by considering the second half of the formula a secondary accretion devised to demonstrate the independence of the brahmins from the royal authority [26] The texts explaining the formula seem at first sight to decide in favour of this view when defining the position of the brahmins with regard to the king in the following terms "he causes everything here to be food for him (the king), he excepts the brahmins alone, therefore the brahmin is not to be lived upon (uneatable, *onadya*), for he has Soma for king' [27] Weber's theory, however, becomes less probable when we take into account that the words 'Soma is our king' recur in the domestic ritual where they are sung by lute players at the simantonnayana ceremony performed during the first pregnancy [28] In this ceremony, intended to promote marital fecundity, it seems quite clear that Soma is invoked as the *retodhas* , the impregnator of seed or in a more general way the life giving power manifesting itself in the cyclical processes of fertility, Soma is the fluid principle of continuity of life, "der Trank der Lebensfortdauer' [29] Soma's being styled king' in this context seems by no means accidental, for the lute players are ordered to sing the king 'Sing ye the king or if anybody else is still more valiant", as Pāraskara has it,[30] Soma is evoked here expressly as king Soma is essentially a king and his realm is the whole cosmos viewed in the perspective of the cyclically recurrent process of growth – decay – new growth in which process he manifests his royal power

Let us now consider what Soma's kingship over the brahmins means The present writer is under the impression that 'Soma, king of us brahmins" is a specialization of "Soma, our king In the first place it

[26] This view has recently been repeated by H Lommel (König Soma , *Numen* vol 2 [1955] p. 203 *f*)

[27] ŚB 5 3 3 12

[28] Cf ParGS 1,15 7, HirGS 2,1 1 3 ĀpGS 6 14 4 BaudhGS 1 10 11 On the simantonnayana cf J Gonda "The S as described in the gṛhyasūtras", *East and West* 7 (1956) p 12 ff

[29] Cf H Lommel's admirable paper on "König Soma", cited above, esp p 200 f

[30] Cf also ŚāṅkhGS 1,22,11–12

sacrificer and it will therefore be seen later on that the four chief priests proclaim the king seated on his throne as the *brahmán-* par excellence [45] The reason for the whispering and the silence on the final identification lies in the power laden mystery of the relation king brahman, and it seems significant that this relation should only be stated in clear terms in the upaniṣad portion of the ŚB (BĀU 1, 4, 11) 'the brahman is the womb of royalty, therefore the brahmin sits, at the rajasuya, below the kṣatriya Therefore, though he may reach the highest state, in the last resort he rests upon the brahman his womb If he were to harm him (i e the brahmin, who represents the brahman power), he would harm the womb (from which he has sprung)" In this light we should interpret the phrase that the brahmin should not be 'eaten" by the king which does not primarily refer to brahmanic privileges and prerogatives wrung in a long struggle from a reluctant nobility, but is a succinct statement of the taboos surrounding the relation king brahman

[45] Cf chapter Enthronement.

X

PREPARATION OF THE UNCTION FLUID

(*APĀM GRAHAGRAHANAM, JALASAMSKĀRAH*)

TS 1,8,11–12, 1,8,14 1, TB 1,7,5–6, 1,7,8,5–6, MS 2,6,7 8, 4 3,10–4 4,2, KS 15,6, VS 10,1–4 6 7 20, ŚB 5,3,4, 5,3,5,10–19, 5,4,2,10
Baudh 12,8–9, 12,11 102 7 ff, Āp 18,12,14–13,22, Hir 13,5,10–21 37, Katy 15,4,22–48, 15 5,4–6, 15,6,12

For the preparation of the unction fluid sixteen or seventeen different sorts of "water" are required [1]

The preparation consists of

1 Making a libation in the waters and drawing them
2 Pouring the different fluids together into a collective vessel
3 Purifying the unction fluid
4 *Pouring out again the collected waters into the four unction cups*
5 Disposing of the remainder left over in the collective vessel

1 After the Marut iṣṭi has reached the stage when the cake has been baked and covered with charcoal and ashes, or, to put it in the terms of the Soma paradigma, after the libation of the third marutvatiya graha,[2] the different sorts of water, which have been brought together beforehand (Baudh), are drawn with the so called Vayu vessels [3] According to Āp the drawing takes place in the āgnidhra but [4] According to the WhYV

[1] The WhYV states their number to be seventeen, MS and TB sixteen Each sort of water is drawn with a specific formula given in the saṃhitas Now TS gives only fifteen formulas, but TB prescribes sixteen sorts of water to be drawn The problem seems to lie with the Sarasvati water, for which no specific formula is given (Presently I shall try to explain this lack.) Āp and Hir leave a choice between the numbers sixteen and seventeen supplementing the TS formulas with borrowings from MS KS (Cf Caland ad Āp 18,13,18)

[2] Cf resp Hillebrandt, *NVO*, p 43, CH no 197

[3] On the Vāyu vessels, used in the Soma ritual, CH no 105,3, and below, annotations Acc. to Hir the Vayu vessels should have been treated with perfumes on this occasion

[4] Baudh. has the waters, before the drawing, stored in the havirdhāna hut below the right (southern) Soma cart, from east to west Probably they are drawn there also A different opinion, recorded Baudh 22, p 142 17, has it that the drawing should be performed before (east of) the sadas.

the drawing takes place on the preceding day after the devasuvāṃ havirṃṣi [6]

As to the formulas given by the saṃhitās for this first stage and the use made of them according to the different schools the following may be noticed

TS 1, 8, 11 gives, beside the specific formulas referring each to one of the waters, 3 general formulas

"They have taken the waters, divine, rich in sweetness, full of strength, attending to the rājasuya, whereby they anointed Mitra and Varuna, whereby they led Indra beyond his foes"

"Ye are givers of the kingdom, give ye the kingdom, svaha"

"Ye are givers of the kingdom, give N N the kingdom",

According to Āp the libations in the waters are made with the specific formulas supplemented with "they have taken the waters ." and "ye are givers of kingdom svaha", then the drawing of the water is performed again with the specific formula, the formula "they have taken ." and "ye are givers of the kingdom, give N N the kingdom". Baudh does likewise but leaves out the first of the general formulas ("they have taken "), applying it to the Sarasvati water, which otherwise has no specific formula

MS 2, 6, 7[8] opens with

"Divine waters, son of the waters (*devir apo, apaṃ napāt*), ye are givers of the kingdom give ye the kingdom, svahā "

"Divine waters, son of the waters, ye are givers of the kingdom, give ye N N the kingdom '

Then follow the specific formulas for each of the waters It seems to be intended that only the first formula is used for the libations,[7] while the specific formula supplemented by the second of the two formulas accompanies the drawing The general formula ' they have taken the waters " is placed by MS and KS further on and applied as an abhimantrana to the second stage of preparation the pouring together [8]

[6] In the Kaṇva recension of the VS the formulas used in drawing the waters are recorded before those used in the devasuvāṃ havirṃṣi This order of succession tallies perfectly with my assumption that the unction was originally framed by the devasu offerings

[7] I shall leave KS , which in general agrees with MS , out as it gives no information on the use of the formulas

[8] Cf Varāha 3 3,2,8 *devir āpo apāṃ napād ity abhijuhoti* also Mānava *devir āpo apām napād ity abhihavam*

[9] Cf Varaha 3 3 2 28 Hir also applies this general formula as an abhimantraṇa either like Āp after the drawing of each of the waters (13,5 15), or after the pouring together (17)

The WhYV, as recorded by Kāty, has the libation performed with the specific formula and "kingdom giving give the kingdom, svāhā", for the drawing the specific formula is again prescribed together with "give N N. *the kingdom*" *The formula "they have taken the waters"* is then applied as the specific formula for the Sarasvatī water, as does Baudh

The specific formulas are listed below For the sake of brevity I have limited the description of the kinds of water to which the formulas are applied to the data given by Baudh, the best representative of the Taittirīya school, Āp, who gives some interesting variants and borrowings from MS-KS, and ŚB-Katy For the version of the Kāṭhakas and the Maitrāyaṇīyas no reliable account is available

Beside seventeen kinds of water, the WhYV prescribes that the adhvaryu should take with the hand shining sun motes (*marīci-*) saying "ye are the self luminous (or self-ruling) waters (*apo svarajah stha*), kingdom giving give N N the kingdom" Then he mixes these sun motes with the waters in the seventeen vessels Here, of course, no libation is made

A short note may be inserted here on the position of the Sarasvatī water The Sarasvatī is mentioned as either the first (TB, ŚB) or the last (Baudh) of the list, or it is left out (Varāha) The formula used by Baudh and ŚB for the Sarasvatī water totally differs from the other specific formulas, and judged by its contents refers rather to all the waters together than specifically to the Sarasvatī, accordingly it is used as a general formula by Āp and, in another way, also by MS-KS Manava uses the formula "divine waters, son of the waters" as the formula for the Sarasvatī[9] but the MS clearly intends this also to be a general formula It may also be noted here that, according to the WhYV, no libation is made in the Sarasvatī water Though the Maitrāyaṇīyas, as evidenced by Varāha, left out the Sarasvatī, it seems nevertheless to have been implied, for in MS's brahmana portion we read 'the Sarasvatī is the vertex (*śīrṣan*) (of the waters), the waters are related to Sarasvatī, in that he is consecrated with (the waters related to) Sarasvatī, he becomes the vertex"[10] This gives us at the same time the clue to the problem the Sarasvatī is the central unifying element present in each of the waters and combining them into a whole[11] This may explain why the sutras which explicitly prescribe the Sarasvatī water use for it a formula which in fact refers to all the

[9] Cf also Hir 13,5 11, apparently based on the Mānava tradition

[10] MS 4 3,10 49 17, cf also TB 1,7,5 5

[11] On the pre-eminence of the Sarasvatī among the Indian rivers in Vedic mythology in general cf Macdonell, *VM*, p 86 f The Sarasvatī is, among other things, said to fill the three worlds, RV 6 61 11–12

waters Where, however, the Sarasvatī is not mentioned, it presides, in the way of an *anirukta*,[13] over the diverse waters, and unifies them In this way the divergence of TS mentioning only fifteen formulas, and TB prescribing the Sarasvatı water as the sixteenth can be explained

2 After the different fluids have been drawn each in its own vessel, they are poured together in a collective vessel variously described as a trough (or closely woven basket) made of reed (*saitasa- sata-*, Āp , *vaitasa-droṇakalasa* , Hir , Baudh) or as n vessel made of udumbara wood (*udumbara patra* , Kāty)[14] This act is accompanied by the formula "O ye divine waters, be ye united, rich in sweetness, with the sweet, winning great radiance for the kṣatriya "

Then the collective vessel is put down in the sadas, between the dhiṣṇiyas of the hotṛ and the brāhmanacchamsin (Āp , Hir) or before the dhiṣṇiya of the maitravaruṇa The formula for putting down the vessel is "unsurpassed, sit ye down, full of strength, bestowing great radiance upon the ksatriya"

Here Kāty interrupts the preparation of the unction fluid to continue on the following day (the sutya day), when the first series of the partha libations is offered immediately before the unction

3 Next the unction fluid in the collective vessel is "purified To that end the adhvaryu sinks a piece of gold which has been attached to a darbha shoot (Baudh), in the vessel The piece of gold is variously described as a hundred mānas in weight (Āp , Baudh) or pierced with a hundred holes (Hir) or weighing a hundred krṣṇalas and pierced with a hundred holes (Varaha) The accompanying formula is "Thou art undefeated, the friend (*bandhu*) of Speech, born from heat, thou art the share of Soma"[15]

The actual purifying (*utpunati*) – probably this means that the gold is taken out again – is performed with the formula "The pure I purify you with the pure, the bright with the bright, the immortal with ambrosia, svaha, the waters attending to the rajasuya "

[13] In this connection it is perhaps relevant to note an opinion recorded Baudh 22, p 172 17 that the libation into the Sarasvatı water should be made silently On *anirukta* (indefinite) often associated with Prajāpati cf L. Silburn *Instant et cause*, pp 54 82 ff

[14] The word *sata* seems to have been borrowed from ŚB 12,8 3 15 where it is used in the unction connected with the sautrāmaṇi sacrifice (Caland) The droṇakalaśa recalls the Soma trough which however is generally made of vikaṅkata wood (cf Āp 12,2,10–11)

[15] Thus Āp , Hir and Vāraha apply this formula when *taking* the piece of gold Baudh. uses the first part of the formula for taking and the second part ('thou art the share of Soma) for sinking the piece of gold.

The WhYV , according to Katy , uses for the purification two purifiers (darbha shoots) to which gold (not further qualified) is fastened Here the purification formula is "At the instigation of Savitṛ I purify you with a purifier that has no flaw, with the rays of the sun "[15]

4 After the "purification" the water in the collective vessel is divided among the four unction cups made respectively of palāśa, udumhara, aśvattha and nyagrodha wood The accompanying formula is "Enveloping himself in these companions (the reference is to the waters), the bright, the vigorous saps (*urj*), undefeated, busy, in his dwelling places (*pastya* , again the reference seems to be to the waters) Varuna has made his abode, the child of the waters in those most motherly "

Baudh , describing this stage in some detail, stipulates that the brahman, the rajanya, the vaiśya and the relative, who later on will administer the unction, are seated in a circle the brahman to the east, the rājanya to the south, the vaiśya to the west and the relative to the north The adhvaryu fills the palaśa cup and hands it to the brahman, next he fills the udumhara vessel and hands it to the rajanya, etc , repeating each time the formula

5 Then the remainder of the unction fluid, left over in the collective vessel, is offered in the āgnidhriya fire with a formula invoking Rudra ' O Rudra, that highest active (*?krayin*) name of thee, to that thou art offered, thou art offered to Yama"

MS (4, p 51 17), followed by Varaha and Āp , has this act performed immediately after the unction fluid has been divided over the four unction vessels [16] The remainder is then stored till the moment of its offering in the āgnidhra hut (Baudh)

MS and KS record after the Rudra formula yet another, to be pronounced by the adhvaryu over the sacrificer [17] "Let Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, these upholders of holy order (*dharma*), uphold the holy order "

This Rudra offering has a parallel in the rite for disposing of the fluid left over at the unction Whereas the BlYV has two separate rites, one for the remainder after the dividing and the other for the remainder at the

[15] This is the usual purification formula (cf VS 1,12 TS 1,1 5a) A similar formula is added by KS and MS to the one mentioned above

[16] Cf also MS 2 6 8 69 1 and KS 15 6 213 16, where the mantra immediately follows the dividing mantra The Taittiriyakas (Hir , Baudh) place this act after the unction (TS gives the Rudra formula after the unction formulas TS 1 8,14 TB 1,7 8 5 Āp gives this opinion of his own śākhā only as an alternative, 18,16,13)

[17] Cf Vārāha 3,3,2,29

unction, the WhYV. combines both rites; according to the version of the WhYV. the unction fluid left over at the unction is collected in the pālāśa vessel (with which in this case the adhvaryu or the purohita has administered the unction); then it is used in the ceremony in which the king and the heir apparent interchange their names and which in the BlYV. is the rite for disposing of the unction remainder; eventually it is poured into the āgnīdhrīya fire as described above, which is in the BlYV. the rite for disposing of the remainder after the dividing.

LIST OF WATERS

Āpastamba	*Baudhāyana*	*White Yajur Veda*
1 Sarasvatī "Ye are active"	1 streaming water	1 Sarasvatī "They have taken the waters"
2 Sea, Sindhu or river with a male name "Thou art the lord of the waters"	2. water from a well with a male name or seawater	2 eastward streaming water "Thou art the male wave"
3. the upstream wave caused by a man or an ox stepping down into the water "Thou art the male wave"	3 billowing water	3 westward streaming water "Thou art the male host"
4 downstream wave of same description as 3 "Thou art the male host"	4 water from a pool	4 water flowing downstream "Ye are busy"
5 water from a well "Ye are the pen-dwellers'	5 same as Āp	5 water flowing upstream 'Ye are powerful"
6 water flowing upstream or (water) from hail[18] "Ye are the strength of the Maruts"	6 water from a whirlpool[19]	6 water from a branch of a river[19] "Ye are the flowing around"
7 water leaping up and falling down on the same place		7 seawater (*nadīpati*)[20] "Thou art the lord of the waters"

[18] Acc to Mādhava ad TS (B I, p 122) "water blown upstream by the wind"

[19] *pariṇadīnām*, cf WhYV's no 6 (*apayatīḥ*), where the same formula is used. Acc to Sāyaṇa on ŚB 5,3,4,9 branch which later on rejoins the main river Hir has *parivāhiṇiḥ stheti sravantīnāṃ yā āpa uccherate, pariṇatīm* (sic), apparently referring to upsurging, overflowing water Caland therefore translates *pariṇadīnām* as "das Überfliessende". I think, however, that we should start from the polarity of the *aprahāvatī* water (Āp no 7) and the *parīvāhinī* water (no. 8), the first representing the water in the centre (*madhyameṣṭheyam tenāvarunddhe*, MS 4, p 50 7), the second the encircling water Rendering *pariṇadīnām* by 'flowing around" seems to be best in keeping with this idea.

[20] Kāty further mentions as alternatives seawater, muddy water, and water carrying along a piece of wood

LIST OF WATERS (*continued*)

Āpastamba	*Baudhāyana*	*White Yajur Veda*
"Ye are the *not-going-forth*"[21] ((*a*)*prahāvarī*)		
8 *water flowing around*[22] "Ye are the flowing around"[21]		8 *water from a whirlpool* (*niveśya-*) "Thou art the embryo of the waters"
9 water, drawn in the sunshine "Ye have the radiance of the sun"	7 like Āp no 10	9 drawn in the sunshine at place in a river where the water stands still "Ye have a sunlike skin"
10 reflecting water "Ye have a sunlike skin"	8 like Āp no 9	10 rainwater caught while the sun is shining "Ye have the radiance of the sun"
11. stagnant water "Ye are delightful"	9 hail	11 water from a tank "Ye are delightful"
12 hoarfrost "Ye are obedient"	10	12 water from a well "Ye are the pen dwellers"
13 birth water of a calf "Ye are powerful"	11	13 hoarfrost "Ye are obedient"
14 milk "Ye are all-supporters"	12	14 honey "Ye are highly swelling"
15 curds "Ye are supporters of men"	13	15 birth water of a calf "Ye are powerful"
16 ghee "Ye have the brilliance of Agni"	14	16 milk "Ye are supporters of men"
17 honey "Ye are the sap of the waters, of the plants"		17 ghee "Ye are all supporters"
	16 Sarasvati "They have taken the waters"	

ANNOTATIONS

The rājasūya is also known as Varunasava. This latter name indicates that the royal sacrificer being anointed impersonates the god Varuna: "It is Varuna whom they anoint", as Śānkh 15, 13, 4 asserts [23] Therefore

[21] Formulas borrowed from MS , cf Caland ad Āp 18,13,8

[22] *niveśyāḥ*, Baudh 's karmānta (26, p 272.9) water from a whirlpool Baudh.'s comm renders it by *sthāvarāḥ*, stagnant (waters) Cf WhYV 's no 8, *niveśyāḥ*, rendered as whirlpool by Sāyaṇa

[23] To this effect cf also the Varuṇa verses during which the sacrificer wipes his face after the devasuvām havīṃṣi and the proclamation connected therewith ' Varuṇa has

the waters, being the specific dominion of Varuna, hold a great place in the rājasūya: "the waters are of Varuna's nature, anointing him with the waters he has made him (identical with) Varuṇa."[24] In this respect the present unction differs from other unction ceremonies, where it is the remainder of the oblatory fluids by means of which the unction is administered.[25] The unction with the waters can therefore be taken as the characteristic feature of the rājasūya unction. These unction waters are themselves called *rājasūyāḥ*.[26] The present writer is under the impression that the word *rājasūya-* originally referred to the unction water, the characteristic feature of this sava, and was from there transferred to the sacrifice as a whole. Āśvalāyana seems to have preserved a trace of the original meaning when using the plural *rājasūyāḥ* (viz. waters) as the name of the sacrifice.[27] The meaning of the word *rājasūya-* could best be rendered by "king-engendering".[28] These considerations reveal at the same time the main theme of the present ceremony as well as of the unction: the king, personifying Varuna, the child of the waters, is born from the waters.

Let us now consider how the process of the king's Varuna birth is realized by means of the unction waters. The list of the waters shows, beneath the surface of the superseding symbolism of the number seventeen (or sixteen) to which we shall revert below, a clear-cut duality. Some of the waters are conceived of as male entities (*apāṃ patir, apāṃ garbho, vṛṣāsyūrmir, vṛṣaseno 'si*) and are in their specific formulas addressed in the singular, the others are female and addressed in the plural. The same polarity is concisely expressed in the formula used by MS. and KS. at each drawing *devīr āpo, apāṃ napat*, "divine (female) waters, son of the waters". This reminds us of the male fertility god

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fastened (or engendered) his own body. These verses belong in fact to the unction ritual, as I argued above.

[24] MS. 4, p. 49,17. For the waters as Varuṇa's domain, H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951), p. 41 ff.

[25] Cf. Āp. 17,19,5 (cayana), 18,6,6 (vājapeya), 19,19,13 (sautrāmaṇī, cf. also Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 677), 20,20,3 (aśvamedha, cf. also Dumont, *o. c.*, no. 331 and pp. 280 f., 343).

[26] Cf. the formulas MS. 2,6,8: 68,9 and 15, KS. 12,6: 293,7 and 13. These are the general formulas referring to the drawing of the water and the one used at the purification of the waters. TS. has in both cases *rājasūyāya citānāḥ*. On the waters being called "the rajasūya", cf. also TS. 5,6,2,1.

[27] Cf. Āśv. 9,3,1: 4,1. The comm. rather unconvincingly explains the plural in the first passage as referring to the different sacrifices of which the rājasūya is composed, and in the second as referring to different kinds of rājasūyas.

[28] Cf. VS. 10,1 where the waters are called *rājasvaḥ*. König zeugend (Weber, p. 29). On the roots *sū-* and their relation to birth, see above, the annotations on the devasuvāṃ havāmahi.

surrounded by a number of female partners, such as already observed when dealing with the devikā havirasi Apam napāt is not only the son of the waters "He, the bull, engendered the embryo in them (the waters), he, the child, sucks and they kiss him"[29] In other words, the male water enters the female waters to be born from them Thus we find in the list of specific formulas a reference to the lord, husband, of the waters and to the embryo of the waters, while the (female) waters are referred to as the "most motherly" in which Varuṇa has made his abode in the formula accompanying the *pouring together of the different kinds of fluids* The idea of pairing, conception, is also expressed by TB and MS , when they state that by the apām-pati water pairing is brought about,[30] further MS says about the water which flows downstream "he causes through it the chief royal consort to engender offspring", while on account of the flowing-around water it is said that "he engenders offspring from the (wife) dwelling-on-the other-side (? *pārevasyantyāh*)" [31] This idea when applied to the king can be identified as the "hieros gamos" of the king with the people, ŚB 5, 3, 4, 10–11 makes this explicit in respect to the seawater (*nadīpati-*) which has as *its specific formula "thou art the lord of the* waters" and to the whirlpool water ("thou art the embryo of the waters"), when stating that through the seawater the anointed is made the lord of the people (*viśam pati-*) and through the whirlpool-water (*niveṣya-*) which envelops him (*upaniveṣtante*), he is made into the embryo of the people (*visam garbha-*)

Pairing and conception are, however, also expressed in another ritual idiom besides the mixing of male and female waters, which latter, though clearly traceable, seems to have fallen somewhat into the background I refer to the purification of the waters with gold Now gold is often conceived of as the semen, especially of Agni Thus we are told, for instance, that Agni, conceiving sexual desire for the waters, Varuna's wives, poured his seed into the waters, this seed became gold [32] This myth seems well to meet the case of the "purified" waters. The "purification" of the waters seems to refer to the cosmic process of the igneous principle entering into a union with the aquatic principle to be reborn from it

[29] RV 2 35 13 For Apām napat cf Macdonell *V M*, p 69 f

[30] TB 1,7,5 1 MS 4, p 50 For the pairing of the male and the female waters, cf also TS 5,6 2,3 MS 3,4 10 57 14 *

[31] MS 4, p 50 5 and 7

[32] Cf ŚB 2,1,1,5 For gold as Agni s semen, cf also *TB* 1,1,3,8, ŚB 2,2,3,28, 3,2 4 8 Gold is also conceived of as the semen of the aśvamedha horse, cf ŚB 13,1,1,3, TB 3,8,2,4, or as Indra s semen, ŚB 12,7,1,7 Cf also R.B Onians, *Origins*, 2nd ed. (London 1954), p 156 n 2

Apāṃ napāt – the bull engendering the embryo in the waters and at the same time the child of the waters –, who is invoked together with the divine female waters at the drawing of the waters, is identical with Agni [33] The same idea seems also to be applied to Agni's celestial form, the sun, who, hidden in the Ocean, was raised from it by the gods [34] The idea of the sun's entering the waters seems to be the purport of the sun motes (*marici-*) mixed, according to the WhYV., with the waters, as well as of those waters which are to be drawn in the sunshine and which are called "sun skinned" (*suryatvacas-*) and "having the radiance of the sun" (*sūryavarcas-*) [35]

These two principles, the igneous and the aquatic, alternatingly engendering each other as in the well known cyclical chain fire-smoke (clouds)-rain-plants fire, form between them the cyclic course of universal life. The procreative union of fire and water, Agni and Soma (the purifying gold is called Soma's share) is reflected in the union of the brahman power and the royal power, of priest and king "Agni is the brahman power, Soma is the royal power", as KB 9, 5 asserts [36] Their union, enacted by the preparation of the unction waters, engenders the king, making him the centre of their interaction In this connection it is worthwhile to note that, according to Śaṅkh 15, 13, 3, the hymn recited as ājyaśastra opens with "Thou, O Agni, art Varuṇa when thou art born" The king's unction birth makes him identical with Varuna as well as with Agni He combines in his person the aquatic principle (Varuṇa, Soma) as well as the igneous (Agni, the sun) [37]

In the explanation of the brahmaṇa texts great importance is attached to the numbers sixteen or seventeen, both of which are connected with Prajapati, the primordial man,[38] and thus imply the totality of the cosmos ŚB 5, 3, 4, 23 says in this connection "he offers sixteen libations (viz. in

[33] Cf Macdonell *VM* p 70 For Agni as son of the waters cf also RV 10,91 6, 3,9 1, AV 1,33,1

[34] Cf RV 10,72,7

[35] It may also be noticed that the purification formula used by the WhYV, refers to the rays of the sun.

[36] Cf KB 10 5 12 8 ŚB 3 4,1,10

[37] As to the igneous nature of the kingship under discussion it is worthwhile to notice that MS 4, p 49 10 considers the collected unction fluids as the lights (*citrāṇi*) of the waters, "therefore the anointed person is known as a shining thing (*citram*) *rājan* (cf *rāj*, to shine) by name "

[38] Prajāpati has here, as elsewhere, superseded Varuṇa, who originally must have been the presiding deity in the present rites For Prajāpati superseding Varuṇa, cf J J Meyer, *Trilogie*, 3, p 315 (Index s v Prajapati) This may also be the reason that the original bipartite system no longer finds expression in the numerical arrangement of the list of fluids.

the waters, when drawing them); they (i.e. the libations and the grahas together) are thirty-two in number; in two fluids he offers no libation: in the Sarasvatī water and in the sun motes; they (fill out the number) thirty-four; there are thirty-three gods; Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth; thus he makes him into Prājapati". Similarly MS. 4, p. 51.6 says: "there are sixteen grahas, related to Prajāpati; the pouring together is the seventeenth; the seventeenth is Prajāpati; he attains Prajāpati". TB. 1, 7, 5, 5, prescribing only sixteen fluids, explains their number in the same way: "man consists of sixteen parts". Thus the parts of the new body of the king sum up the whole of the primordial, cosmic man and identify the king with him. Baudh. prescribes that the unction fluids are to be brought together from the points of the compass (*diś-*), thus stressing the idea of the king incorporating the universe.[39] The cosmic body is assembled in a trough made of reed. Now the reed is conceived of as the representative of the primordial waters. When the aśvamedha horse is immolated the cut-off pieces are put down on a reed mat (*vaitasa- ṛjasūna-*) "the horse has his birthplace (*yoni-*) in the waters, the reed is born in the waters; he makes the horse prosper through his birthplace".[40] The idea underlying the pouring together can in this way be formulated as gathering the dispersed parts of the cosmic man – Prajāpati, as is well-known, is often said to have disintegrated – in the womb to be reproduced.[41]

In this connection also the Vāyu vessels used for drawing the fluids deserve attention. In the Soma sacrifice Vāyu vessels are used for the Soma portions of different gods. Their purpose is to make the killed

[39] At the courts of Bangkok and Pnom Penh it is till the present day customary that the unction waters are brought together from the main rivers and the different provinces (cf H G Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, pp 74 and 78ff, G Coedès, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, Paris, 1947, p 186) Also Rām 6,128,50

[40] ŚB 13,2,2,19, cf TB 3,8,20,4, 3,8,4,3, 3,8,19,2

[41] The gathering of the embryo, which recalls AV 1,11,2 where the embryo is said to have been brought together from the four regions of the heaven and of the earth, has a counterpart in the division of the waters over the four unction cups This latter act might be considered to represent or rather anticipate birth (cf the pouring out of water over the lying-in woman to promote a speedy parturition, ĀpGS 14,14, PārGS. 1,16,1), followed by the disposal of the secundines, to wit the remainder of the fluids left over in the collective trough Elsewhere in fact the unction is administered directly from the collective trough (cf ŚB 12,18,3,15 referring to the sautramaṇi, and Āp 22,26,10–11, the odanasava) At any rate the division of the waters seems not to be a mere doublet The polarity of the pouring together of the waters, brought together from the four points of the compass, and their division over the four unction vessels placed in the four directions seems to exemplify the ever recurrent cosmic process of concentration and dispersal, integration and disintegration At the unction the waters dispersed towards the four directions return to the centre where they are concentrated again on the anointed king

XI

PREPARATION OF THE SACRIFICER

TS 1 8 12 and 16a-6 TB 1 7 6 4-8 and 10 1 2 MS 2 6 9 and 11 (70 11) and 12 (71 4) 4 4 3 and 5 (55 6ff) KS 15 7 and 8 (215 4)
VS 10 8 9 16 25 ŚB 5 3 5 20-37 and 4 1 15-17 and 4 3 27
Baudh 12 9 and 14 (106 19ff) Āp 18 14 and 16 9-10 and 18 1-4 H r 13 5 22 25 and 35 and 6 13-14 Kāty 15 5 7 22 28 29 and 6 34 and 7 25-28

The sacrificer is prepared for the unction by the following rites
a he is clothed with special garments
b he is purified and ointment is applied to his eyes and body
c he eats
d he is proclaimed with the avid formulas (avedana)
e he is equipped with a bow and arrows
f he is made to raise his arms

These rites especially the first four show a marked resemblance to the dīksa rites

The WhYV acc to Katy prescribes of these rites only the clothing (a) which is followed by the presentation of the bow and arrows (e) and the avedana (d) the raising of the arms is in the WhYV version performed only later on immediately before the unction

The place where these rites are performed is according to Āp the agnidhra hut During the proclamation the sacrificer is led out of this hut [1]

a *Special apparel*

The sacrificer dons special apparel consisting of a number of garments For each garment the samhitas give a formula indicating its significance The number of garments or formulas differs TB and TS mention two garments a *tarpya* garment[2] and a turban (*uṣnīṣa*) The relevant for

[1] Āp 18 14 9 10 The other sutras are not explicit Baudh seems to indicate the sadas having stored the remainder of the unction fluid when it has been divided over the four unction vessels in the sadas the adhvaryu standing there orders the garment etc to be brought for the preparation of the sacrificer (*athātra vai tiṣṭhan yacati* 12 9 98 12) This seems to be also the opinion of Hir who prescribes that the sacrificer when being proclaimed with the āvid formulas is led outside the sadas (13 5 23 *yajamanam bahir hradasam abhyudanayati*)

that the KS passage deals with the dikṣa [16] It demonstrates the intimate connection of the present rites with the dikṣā and strongly suggests that the present rites, if not identical with the dikṣā, at least originate from the same source, where the features of both the present rites and the dikṣā were already fully developed

Whereas Āp prescribes the purification as well as the anointment, the other texts only prescribe either the purification (TB, Baudh) or the anointment (MS, Hir, Vārāha, Manava) The reason for the defective description seems to lie in the congruence of the dikṣā and the present rites, having been performed in the dikṣā ceremony before the unction festival, the present rites can be limited to the essential differences, such as the use of a hundred and one darbha bunches instead of twenty-one as in the case of the dikṣa Thus we can also understand why the WhYV. leaves out the purification, the anointment and the eating

c *Eating*

As part of his preparation the sacrificer should eat curds, an udumbara fruit and young barley sprouts (*saṣpani*, *tokma*, TB, Baudh, Āp, Hir) Vāraha and Manava further mention honey

The eating occurs also as a dikṣā rite [17]

d *Proclamation*

Then, having made the sacrificer touch water, the adhvaryu leads him out of the agnidhra hut (or the sadas) making him pronounce the seven avid formulas "Manifest[18] is Agni Gṛbapati, manifest is Indra of eminent fame, manifest is Puṣan the all knowing, manifest are Mitra and Varuṇa increasing the holy order (*ṛta*), manifest are Heaven and Earth of fixed order (*dhṛtavrata*), manifest is divine Aditi of all forms, manifest is N N, descendant of N N, in this folk (*viś*), this kingdom, for great

[16] Cf CH no 14

[17] CH do not mention the eating cf, however TS 6 1, 1, 4 KS 22, 13 Āp 10, 6 7–10 According to Āp. the dikṣita should eat rice butter, curds and honey The young barley shoots (*śaṣpāni*) apparently belong to the sphere of the surā cult, as they are the basic material for the preparation of the sura beverage TB, 1, 7, 6, 5 declares that by being made to eat the barley shoots he is made the recipient of a surā offering (*surābalim evainaṃ karoti*)

[18] *āvinna-* (TS) or *āvitta-* (MS, KS) VS opens with *āvir* but has in the following formulas *āvitta* These forms can be derived from *vid-* to know (Keith "notified") as well as from *vid-* to find (Caland "Vorhanden") (cf Pāṇini 8,2,58 *vitto bhoga-pratyayoḥ*) Both meanings seem to be present here, cf below, annotations.

lordship, for great overlordship, for great lordship over the people".[19]

To these formulas the BlYV. adds the proclamation formula pronounced already before at the devasuvāṃ havīṃṣi: "This is your king, o Bhāratas; Soma is the king of us, brahmins".[20]

The present proclamation rite seems to me to correspond with the proclamation of the dikṣita in the Soma ritual.[21]

e. *Bow and arrows*[22]

First the bow is presented to the sacrificer by the adhvaryu with the formula: "Thou art the Vṛtra-slaying bolt of Indra, with thee may he slay Vṛtra". Then the adhvaryu gives three arrows with: "Ye are overcomers of foes". Āp. prescribes that the adhvaryu, when presenting the arrows, should whisper: "Protect him in front, protect him from behind, protect him from above".[23] When receiving the arrows out of the hands of the adhvaryu the sacrificer says: "Protect me in front, (when I move) in the direction (of the enemy) protect me (*anvāñcaṃ mā pāta*), from the quarters of space protect me, from all injurious powers protect me".

The WhYV. gives the following description of this rite: the adhvaryu draws the bow with: "thou art Indra's Vṛtra-slaying (force)". Then he rubs both arms of the sacrificer with resp. "thou art Mitra", and "thou art Varuṇa".[24] Then he hands the bow to the sacrificer with the formula: "with thee may he slay Vṛtra". Next he takes up the three arrows: "thou art *dṛbā*", "thou art *rujā*", "thou art *kṣùmā*"[25] and hands them to the sacrificer with: "protect him in front, protect him from behind, protect him from the quarters of space".

[19] The seventh formula, mentioning the name of the sacrificer, is left out in the WhYV.-version. Instead the formulas open with: "manifest, o men" (*āvír maryāḥ*), without revealing the name, which is *anirukta-*, unexpressed, and therefore implies acc. to ŚB. 5,3,5,31 that Prajāpati is aimed at (*āvir maryāḥ ityaniruktaṃ, Prajāpatir vā aniruktas, tad enaṃ Prajāpataya āvedayati*).

[20] According to *Mādhava* (ad *TS. 1,8,12,2*) the second part of this formula: "Soma is the king of us, brahmins" is again whispered by the brahman priest. The WhYV. leaves out the formula here, but adds it, later on, to the unction formulas.

[21] Cf. CH. no. 18.

[22] For the BlYV. I follow here, for the sake of brevity, the description of Āp. (18,14, 10–13) and the formulas given by TS. (11,8,12, i-l). The other texts agree in the main. Hir.'s text has here a hiatus.

[23] The latter formula is not on record in the saṃhitās or brāhmaṇas; it is apparently a contamination of MS. 2,6,9:69.9 and ŚB. 5,3,5,30 (Caland).

[24] According to the comm. ad Kāty. 15,5,18 the arms of the sacrificer are meant. Cf. the next rite, the raising of the sacrificer's arms.

[25] The meaning of these words is uncertain; ŚB. 5,3,5,29 identifies them with the three parts of the universe: earth (*dṛbā*), intermediate space (*rujā*) and heaven (*kṣumā*). The Kāṇva recension has resp. *rujā, drubā* and *kṣupā*.

This rite does not occur in the dikṣā ceremony The bow and the arrows will be used only later on, in the chariot drive, and Baudh accordingly permits deferring the presentation of the bow and arrows till after the unction

f *Raising the arms*

The adhvaryu raises the arms of the sacrificer while reciting the triṣṭuhh stanza

"Gold hued at the appearance of the dawns, iron pillared at the rising of the sun, O Mitra and Varuna mount the pit (*garta*)[26] and thence behold ye Aditi and Diti"[27]

This is the Taittiriyaka version (TB, Baudh) Āp, following MS and KS, has the sacrificer himself raise his arms with 'thou art Mitra" and "thou art Varuna", then the adhvaryu recites the triṣṭuhh over the raised arms

The WhYV places the raising of the arms later, immediately before the unction Katy leaves a choice between the Mitra Varuna formulas and the triṣṭuhh

The counterpart of the present rite the lowering of the arms, is performed after the chariot drive [28] The formulas for lowering the arms are again 'thou art Mitra' and 'thou art Varuna' The sacrificer then holds his hands over the amikṣa which is to be offered to the Viśve Devah[29] with the formula "I (unite myself) with the Viśve Devah'[30] In the WhYV the formula for holding the hands over the amikṣa (in this case for Mitra and Varuṇa) is 'I lower ye two, the force displaying (*vir*) *akṛt*) arms of Indra

[26] *garta* is the name of the pits in which the central poles (*sthuna-*) of a house are placed (cf L Renou La maison védique *J A* 1939 p 484f) Likewise *garta* will mean here the p t in which the iron pillar referred to in the stanzas is raised. Sāyaṇa, apparently thinking of the sun chariot takes *garta* here as the chariot seat. On this stanza, cf also Bergaigne *La Rel gion Vedique* 3 224f and J Auboyer *Le trône et son symbolisme dans l Inde ancienne* (Paris 1949) p 87

[27] Thus TS MS and KS differ somewhat gold hued" and iron pillared are there attributes of *garta* not of Mitra and Varuṇa instead of *cakṣathām* (behold ye) they read *cakrāthe* (? ye have made yourself Aditi and Diti) VS (10 16) offers a variant of this stanza in wh ch also Indra is brought into the picture gold hued at the appearance of the dawns ye two Indra and Sūrya rise mount o Mitra and Varuṇa the pit and behold ye Aditi and Diti

[28] Cf Āp 18 18 1ff H r 13 6 13f Baudh 12 14 106.10 Kāty 15 6 34

[29] On this ām kṣā see the chapter Unction festival, generalities In the WhYV the āmikṣā is destined for M tra and Varuṇa

[30] The Maitrayaṇiyas have this formula preceded by 'Thou art the real (*sat*) be thou real for me thou art the full, be thou full for me thou art the whole (*sarva*) be thou whole for me thou art imperishable be thou imperishable for me (quoted pratīkena MS 2 6 12 71 4 cf 1 4 2 48 9)

It is highly improbable that the sacrificer should keep his arms raised so long, his activities during the intervening stages imply the normal use of his arms The raising and lowering of the arms belong to the unction proper which is, so to say, framed between the raising and the lowering of the arms Kāty has the arms raised immediately before the unction, and it is with raised arms that the king should be anointed [31] Originally the ceremonial lowering of the arms will have been performed immediately after the unction The raising and the lowering will have been pushed wider apart by the effect of the accumulation of rites and especially by the insertion of the chariot drive

ANNOTATIONS

When describing the present rites, it will already have been seen that they have much in common with the dīkṣā, and in the case of the purification and anointment it has been observed that the rules pertaining to the dikṣā can be applied directly to the preparation of the royal sacrificer for his unction Originally the Soma dikṣā and the royal consecration will have been practically identical

a As is well known the purpose of the dikṣa is to prepare the sacrificer for his rebirth through the sacrifice by reducing him to the embryonic state [32] This idea could not receive a more clear expression than it received in the formulas referring to the unction apparel the royal embryo is enveloped in an amnion and a chorion, his umbilical cord is fastened and he is placed in the womb Special interest attaches in this connection to the tārpya garment We find it also in the aśvamedha sacrifice at the place where the sacrificial horse is immolated a tarpya garment is spread,[33] Baudh uses a tārpya garment to strangle the horse and later on to cover the mahiṣi and the dead horse at their symbolic copulation [34] We may interpret this as meaning that the horse, being immolated, is covered again with the embryonic covers, and through his copulation with the mahiṣi enters the womb again to be reborn [35] The congruency

[31] Cf ŚB 5 4,1,17, MS 4, p 53 16 MS 's reading *urdhvabāhus tiṣṭhantam abhiṣiñcati* should be emended to *ūrdhvabāhum* (accusative) (cf Varāha 3,3 2 48)

[32] Cf S Lévi *Doctrine*, p *102ff*, H Oldenberg *R d V*, p *405ff*

[33] Cf TB 3,9,20 1, Āp 20 17,8, Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, p 275

[34] Baudh *15*,28 232 9, 234 8

[35] Cf W Kirfel, ' Der Aśvamedha und der Puruṣamedha " in *Beiträge W Schubring dargebracht, Alt- und Neu Indische Studien*, no *7*, pp 39-50 (Hamburg, 1951), who considers the cohabitation of the mahiṣi and the dead horse a means to obtain offspring and compares it with the niyoga

between death and entering the maternal womb is also to be observed in the dīkṣā, thus it is stated that the sacrificer being consecrated dies [36] After the dīkṣā the sacrificer is reborn through, or rather out of, the sacrifice Thus it can be understood that the tārpya garment is identified with the sacrifice itself,[37] which identification is stressed by the decoration of the tārpya with figures related to the sacrifice Donning the tārpya the royal sacrificer dies and enters the maternal womb, taking it off afterwards he is literally born out of the sacrifice

Already when dealing with the iṣṭi for Agni-Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa the idea of the king's decay and revival has been observed Here we are confronted with the ritual "mechanism" of this process [38]

b/c Dealing with the Soma dīkṣā, MS and KS state the purport of the anointment, of the eating and of the dīkṣā garment in the following words "these are (the parts of) the body of man, having become whole bodied he undertakes the dīkṣā" [39] On account of the similarity of the rites under discussion and the corresponding rites of the Soma dīkṣa these words may safely be applied to the present case It may be concluded from it that the royal sacrificer, as well as the dīkṣita, is at the moment of his conception provided with a (new) body It is further worthwhile noticing that the anointment of the body of the dīkṣita is equated to the sprinkling of ghee on the oblation (abhighārana) [40] In this way the consecrated person is made into an oblation, which idea is also expressed

[36] JUB. 3,9,4 *atha ya etam etad dīkṣayanti tad dvitīyam mriyate mṛtasya vāvaiṣa tadā rupam bhavati* The resemblance of the dīkṣā to funeral rites has already been observed by S Lévi, *Doctrine* p 107 Cf also H Oldenberg, *R d. V*, p 407, who, however, fails to appreciate the congruency between death and entering the maternal womb when he looks for "eine Darstellung des Todes des alten Menschen", the sacrificer s being reduced to the embryonic state is exactly the representation he looks for The dīkṣā shares this double aspect with the "rites de passages" at large, cf v d. Leeuw, *La Religion*, p 190ff We shall meet it again when dealing with the unction itself

[37] TB 1,3,7,1, 3,9,20,1

[38] Perhaps these data on the unction apparel could provide a clue to a general theory on the magic power of clothes (cf such expressions as "investing with authority") The fact that at the rājasuya the clothes are taken off again does not make it a special case. The maternal womb the embryonic covers are ambivalent (cf the polarity of Anumati Nirṛti) With regard to the dangerous aspect taking off and throwing or offering (in order to remove it) is prescribed. In its beneficial aspect the yoni is a *pratiṣṭhā-*, a firm basis. Here we cannot go further into this subject Suffice it to note that more than hitherto, the facts of the Vedic ritual might be turned to account.

[39] KS 22,13 69.2 *ārikte, 'bhyārikte, 'nāti, vāsaḥ paridhatte, etā vai puruṣasya tanvas, sarvatanur eva bhutvā dīkṣām upaiti* (cf MS 3,6,2 61 18)

[40] Cf KS 23,1 73 1, MS. 3,6,2 62.2.

elsewhere [41] This perfectly fits in the scheme of the sacrificer's sacrificial death and rebirth, as set forth above

The purification of the sacrificer with a hundred and one darbha bunches seems to be related to his being provided with a new body and a new life The hundred and one darbha bunches represent, according to TB 1, 7,6,4–5, the hundred vital forces (*ayus-* and *virya-*) of man, while the sacrificer himself (*atman-*) is the hundred and first, being himself the hundred and first the sacrificer encloses the hundred vital forces and becomes complete through the purification (*yavan eva puruṣaḥ, tasmin viryaṃ dadhāti*) [42] Interesting is also the view expressed by the brahmanas on the purification of the diksita In the dikṣā twenty one darbha stalks and the successive numbers of the stalks used in the purification put the sacrificer in relation with a series of cosmic entities two stalks – day, night, three stalks – three divisions of space, five – the sacrifice (which is often considered quinquepartite), *six* – the seasons, seven – the metres, *nine* – the breaths, twenty one – ten fingers, ten toes, the twenty first being the sacrificer himself (*atma*) [43] Starting with the cosmic entities day and night the passage works up to man himself, who being the twenty first integrates all cosmic entities in himself In his new body the sacrificer embodies the whole universe [44]

d The āvid formulas too present a configuration of cosmic entities (gods), which are united in the first or last of the series This uniting entity is the sacrificer himself or the prototype of the sacrificer, the cosmic man Prajāpati [45] TB says on the avid formulas "they (the formulas or the gods evoked by them) cause him to come to *avid*" (*avidam evainam gamayanti*), the meaning of this statement is according to Bhaskara "they make him come to the qualities of the gods enumerated in the

[41] Cf e g KB 7,3

[42] It may also be noticed that purification in the Vedic ritual is associated with wind and with the prāṇas, the vital forces represented as winds circulating through the body (cf e g TB 3,2,5 11, 3,3,4 4 ŚB 1,8 1 44) As above in connection with the so-called Vayu vessels used for drawing the unction fluids, the idea of purification is akin to restoring the prāṇas the vital breaths

[43] TS 6,1,1,7-8, cf MS 3,6 3 63 6ff KS 23,1 74 1ff, ŚB 3 1,3,19ff

[44] In another way the same idea is expressed in connection with the dīkṣita garment, which is said to be connected with all the gods, cf TS 6 1,1,3

[45] *In the BlYV version first the gods and their domains or functions are mentioned* and last the sacrificer The WhYV, however, does not mention the sacrificer s name but begins with manifest, O men", without any further indication. ŚB 5,3,5,31 explains this as an implicit reference to Prajāpati (the unexpressed *anirukta*, is Prajapati) The fact that no name is mentioned here is probably related to his shrouded condition as an embryo, his name is mentioned later on at the unction, his birth

formulas" (*ävidam abhimukhyena vettavyam labdhavyam grhapatitvadikam gamayanti*) In other words the qualities are obtained by the sacrificer (who pronounces the formulas himself) and he manifests himself (*avinna* N N) as enclosing them all

ŚB and MS , however, unmistakably speak of announcing, proclaiming the sacrificer *to* the gods [46] Adhering to this Weber considers the forms *avinna* , *avitta* as perfect participles of a deponens and translates "Agni, etc , hat ihn gesehen, erkundet" This reasoning seems, however, too one-sided to meet the requirements of the always many sided Indian imagination It should be taken into account that the godhead is for the Indian mind at once immanent and transcendent The outward act of his announcement to the gods coincides with his integrating and manifesting them in himself [47]

TB connects with the avedana the image of Indra's battle against Vṛtra at daybreak ' Indra raised his bolt he cleft the sky, that became Aryaman's path (i e the sun's path along the sky), with the formula 'manifest are Heaven and Earth of fixed order' he took refuge with Heaven and Earth, impelled (or brought forth, *prasuta*) by them he threw his bolt against Vṛtra' We may interpret this passage as the rise of the sun, cleaving its path along the sky and slaying the all-enveloping (*vṛtra*) darkness Viewed in this way the sacrificer is at the avedana represented with a new cosmic body on the point of being born, like Indra the sun, when about to rise and slay Vṛtra

e TB 's reference to Indra s slaying Vṛtra in his explanation of the ävedana is paralleled by the connection established by the brahmaṇas between the purification and anointment of the Soma dikṣita and Indra's victory over Vṛtra on the other hand On account of the anointment TS says ' Indra slew Vṛtra his (Vṛtra s) eyeball fell away, it became ointment ', as to the darbha grass used for purifying the dikṣita, the same text explains ' Indra slew Vṛtra, he died upon the waters, of the waters what was fit for the sacrifice, pure and divine that went out of the waters

[46] But even then this proclamation is made with a view to their attributes or rather the acquisition of these attributes, cf ŚB 5 3 5 33 *ävitto indro vṛddhaśravä iti kṣattram vä indras tad enam kṣatträyävedayati*

[47] A clear instance of such opposites which do not exclude but rather supplement each other is provided by TS 6 4 1,2 ' Go *to* Mitra and Varuṇa (the representatives of the vital breaths) thus he places breath *in* the offspring" Cf also the *ätmayäj n-*, who considers the sacrificial acts as related to himself as against the *devayäjin-* who considers them to be related to the gods (ŚB 11,2,6 13 14) and those upan ṣad passages where *adhyätmam* related to the self is paralleled by *adhidevatam* related to the gods (Cf H Oldenberg *Weltansch ung* p 57)

there is still another feature in this act the king lowering his arms holds his hands above an amikṣā This āmikṣā has a feeding, invigorating effect, it may he considered tbe first feeding of the newly born child, wbich is in need of invigoration nfter the feat of its sunlike rise from the subterranean womb To this effect may be adduced what KB 13,2 teaches about the āmikṣā which is offered to Mitra and Varuna at the morning service of the normal Soma sacrifice [52] "the sacrifice is of the nature of Mitra and Varuna, during the morning service it is born, the suckling is fed only on milk, it is as though he lays tbe newly-born one nt the breast (of the mother)" [53] The idea of feeding is also present in case the āmikṣā is destined for the Viśve Devāh, in that case it is put in terms of the relation king people "the subjects (*prajah*) are of the nature of the Viśve Devāh (the Viśve Devah are often identified with the people, tbe *viś*), these (subjects) he makes bis food" [54] Here we should also take into consideration that the people, as we have observed before, are the womb of kingship So we can conclude that by lowering his arms over the āmikṣā for Mitra and Varuna he enters into contact with the maternal womb, not primarily in the sense of death and new conception – the Nirṛti aspect – but in the sense of being invigorated, fed

To sum up it may be said that the present rites turn the royal sacrificer into a cosmic embryo about to be born In the solar scheme of reference he is the sun about to rise or he is Indra raising bis bolt to crush Vṛtra; he raises the cosmic pillar, which is mounted by Mitra and Varuṇa or Indra and Surya at dayhreak The cosmogonic implication of tbe king's birth, thus prepared stands out more clearly in his representing himself as the rising cosmic pillar

XII

MOUNTING THE QUARTERS OF SPACE

(*DIGVYĀSTHĀPANAM*)

TS 1 8,13, TB 1,7,7, MS 2,6 10 4 4,4 KS 15 7, VS 10 10–14 ŚB 5,4,1,3–8 Baudh 12, *p* 100 5–8, Āp 18 14 17 15 1, Hir 13,5 24 Kāty 15 5,23

When the sacrificer has been clad and equipped for the unction ceremony, the adhvaryu instructs him to mount the quarters of space (*diśah*) by making a step in each of the five directions The adhvaryu instructs the sacrificer each time with a formula, associating the relevant direction with a number of entities referring to the sacrifice or to the cosmos, to wit a metre, a stoma, a saman, a divinity (or, in the WhYV -version, a season) and a (socio-cosmical) "substance" (*dravina*)[1] Thus the first formula runs 'do thou mount the kindling (quarter) (*samidh*), let the gayatri of metres help thee, the trivṛt stoma, the rathantara sāman, the deity Indra, the force (*dravina*) (of the) brahman class" All formulas have the same form and are summarized in the following table

direction	*metre*	*stoma*	*sāman*	*divinity*	*draviṇam*
east (*samidh*)	gāyatri	trivṛt	rathantara	Agni (spring)	brahman
south (*ugrā*)	triṣṭubh	pañcadaśa	bṛhat	Indra (summer)	kṣattram
west (*virāj*)	jagati	saptadaśa	vairūpa	Maruts (rainy season)	viś
north (*udīci*)	anuṣṭubh	ekaviṃśa	vairāja	Mitra Varuṇa (autumn)	balam (MS puṣṭam, thriving, growth)
zenith (*urdhvā*)	paṅkti	triṇava trayas triṃśa	śakvara raivata	Bṛhaspati (winter)	varcas (MS phalam, fruit)

The indication of most of the directions with substitute names (*samidh* etc.) has given rise to differences as to the order of succession of the

[1] Baudh and Kāty have these formulas said by the sacrificer himself, though they suit the adhvaryu better

XIII

THE TIGER SKIN, LEAD AND COPPER; SILVER AND GOLD

TS 1 8,14, TB 1,7,8 1–2, 1,8 9, MS 2,6 10, 4,4,4, KS 15,7, VS 10,5 to 14 15, ŚB 5,3,5,3 and 4,1,1–2 and 9–14
Baudh 12,10 10 1 4–10, Āp 18 15,5–7, Hir 13,5,26–30, Kāty 15,5,1–2 and 22 and 24–27

a The unction will be administered to the king while standing upon a tiger skin [1] The tiger skin is spread now before (east of) the dhiṣṇiya of the maitrāvāruṇa priest (near the place where the unction vessels have been put down) with the neck turned to the east and the hairy side upwards [2] The formula pronounced at the spreading is "Thou art Soma's glittering (*tviṣi-*), as thine may my glittering be!" [3] Beside the tiger skin, Āp and Vārāha prescribe also a throne of khadira or udumbara wood on which the tiger skin is to be fastened with the above formula [4] The other authorities do not use a throne at the unction The actual enthronement takes place later, after the chariot drive

b When treading upon the tiger skin the sacrificer kicks away two pieces of metal With the right foot he kicks a piece of lead towards a eunuch (*klība*, TB, *paṇḍaga-*, MS) who sits south of the tiger skin (TB, Baudh), doing so he says "removed (by offering) are the biters (*dandaśūka*)". With the left foot he kicks a piece of copper towards a barber (*keśavāpa-*) saying "cast away is Namuci's head" The eunuch and the barber throw the pieces outside the vedi (Āp) With the Taittiriyakas the formulas seem to have been confused The lead belongs, in my opinion, clearly to the myth of Namuci,[5] the piece of copper seems to me to be related to

[1] At the mahābhiṣeka, described by Kauś, likewise a tiger skin is used (17,13) At the laghvabhiṣeka however a bull's hide is used (17,3)
[2] Baudh has the tiger skin spread on the place of the sacrificer south of the āhavanīya fire Acc. to Vait 36 6 its place is before (east of) the Soma carts.
[3] This formula is used by Kāty twice once at the spreading (which in the WhYV takes place a little earlier at the very beginning of the block of inserted rites), and the second time when the sacrificer treads upon the tiger skin
[4] Cf Vārāha 3,3,2,43
[5] On the connection of lead with the Namuci myth cf M Bloomfield "The story of Indra and Namuci", *JAOS* 15, p 157

the copper razor used for haircutting and shaving in the caturmāsyas,[6] the formula "removed (by offering) are the biters" would perfectly fit this meaning MS (4,4,4 54 5ff), Hir and Vāraha accordingly connect the Namuci formula with the lead and the dandaśuka formula with the copper The WhYV does likewise the sacrificer, pronouncing the Namuci formula, kicks with his foot (it is not said, whether the left or the right foot is meant) the piece of lead away (not towards a person), the piece of copper is thrown by him with the dandaśuka formula in the mouth of a long haired person (*kesava*), that is, acc to ŚB 5,4,1,2, a person who is neither man nor woman[7] It is further to be observed that in the WhYV the throwing away of the copper and of the lead are separated from each other by the "mounting of the quarters" described in the preceding chapter, the piece of copper which has *not* been laid down on the tiger skin like the piece of lead, is thrown away immediately before the mounting ceremony, and directly after that ceremony the sacrificer, stepping on the tiger skin, kicks away the lead *If I am right two rites have colluded here a rite* originally connected with ritual hair-cutting or shaving (copper – barber – biters), and secondly a rite referring to the myth of Indra's victory over Namuci (lead – eunuch[8] – Namuci) Both schemes are completely rendered by MS, followed by Vāraha, Hir and Āp (the last confuses the formulas) TB and Baudh have both acts but mention only the eunuch (*kliba*), and *further, as we saw, they confuse the formulas* The *WhYV* also mentions but one personage, the *kesava*[9]

c The adhvaryu places under the sacrificer who is standing on the tiger skin a silver plaque weighing a hundred mānas with the formula "Thou art ambrosia, from death protect me"[10] On the head of the sacrificer he places a golden plaque also weighing a hundred manas (or kṛṣṇalas) with the formula "From the thunderbolt protect me" (WhYV 'Thou

[6] Cf TB 1 5 6 5, Āp 8 4 1 Also in the domestic ritual of the cuḍakarma a copper razor is used cf Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* p 49

[7] Cf also ŚB 5 1,2 14 Apparently a eunuch is meant.

[8] The connection eunuch lead occurs also elsewhere, in the sautramaṇi the sura is bought from a eunuch for a piece of lead cf TB 1 8 5 3 (*klība-*) ŚB 5 1,2 14 (*keśava*)

[9] Perhaps the confusion started with the *keśava-*, the long haired person, *keśava* being at once the designation for an eunuch (at least in the ŚB) and for a long haired person The long haired person is easily to be connected with ritual hair-cutting and shaving as is to be observed in the kesavapaniya sacrifice.

[10] The rite with the gold and silver plaques is placed by the Taittiriyakas (cf Baudh 12 10 101 5 10 Āp 18 16 5-6) immediately before the lead and-copper rite Hir follows MS and KS, where the reverse order is prescribed (cf MS 2,6 10 70 5-6 KS 15 7 214 13ff) The WhYV does likewise

art *ojas-*, thou art *sahas-*, thou art ambrosia") This gold plaque is pierced with nine or with a hundred holes

ANNOTATIONS

a In the unction ceremony the tiger skin plays a part strictly analogous to the part of the black antelope skin in the dikṣā [11] On the other hand the black antelope skin is also used in the unction ceremonies; for instance in the agnicayana unction a black antelope skin is used if the sacrificer wishes to obtain priestly lustre, a tiger skin if he is a kṣatriya and a goat skin if he is a vaiśya [12] In the dikṣā the black antelope skin is considered one of the embryonic covers of the dikṣita turned into an embryo [13] The similarity of the unction and the dikṣā has already been noticed, and it seems therefore reasonable to assume that the tiger skin too represents an embryonic cover In this sense may be interpreted the statement of TB and MS [14] that the tiger skin is the "cover of death" (*mṛtyor varma-*), for the dikṣita is considered to be an embryo in a death-like condition awaiting its rebirth through the sacrifice

The king seems to have a special relation with the tiger. In the rājābhiṣeka he is clearly identified with the tiger, when the moment for the unction has arrived he seats himself on a tiger skin while the adhvaryu recites "a tiger seat thyself on the tiger skin ",[15] another instance from the rājābhiseka is to be found in one of the formulas accompanying a series of libations preceding the unction "this tiger wanders in the fire having entered it, the son of the seers " [16] Now the womb from which the dikṣita is ritually to be born is also represented by the sacrificial fires in the fire-hut, where he is to pass the night, if he should pass the night outside this hut, the fire would come after him in the form of a tiger, and kill him [17] On connecting this idea of the dikṣita's fire womb represented

[11] Cf CH no 17a
[12] Cf Āp 17,20 6
[13] Cf AB 1,3,17–18, MS 3 6,7 68 11
[14] TB 1,7,8,1, MS 4, p 54 10
[15] TB 2,7,15,3, cf AV 4 8,4, for the ritual, cf Āp 22,28,12, Baudh. 18,16 362 1
[16] Cf TB 2,7,15,1 For the ritual, cf Āp 22,28,10, Baudh 18,16 361 10 That here the king under the form of the ghee poured into the fire is meant becomes sufficiently clear when we take into account that the following libation formulas are stanzas from AV 4 8, a hymn referring to the king being consecrated, and prescribed by Vait. 36,7 to be recited at the rājasuya unction, this hymn also refers to the king as a tiger (v 4) and again both as a tiger, a lion and a leopard (v 7) The tiger is considered the king of wild beasts (ŚB 12,7,1,8, AB 8 6,1)
[17] Cf ŚB 3,1,3,28, TS 6,2,5,5 The fire is called in this connection guardian of the family (*kulagopa-*)

another version of the Namuci myth Indra slays or twists off the head of Namuci who had insinuated himself into Indra's intimacy and forced Indra to enter into a covenant with him, with a weapon made of foam (*apaṃ phena*), now foam is considered identical with lead,[22] in the present rite the piece of lead, by a curious but in Vedic thought not altogether astonishing interchange, represents Namuci's head itself. Much is obscure in the Namuci mythology, but here it may suffice to retain the fact that Namuci, the lead and the eunuch belong together and are probably the traces of a different version of the rājasūya in which the surā cult played an important part as it still does in another royal ceremony, the vajapeya. This becomes the more probable when taking into account that the sautramaṇi sacrifice is to be performed after the rajasūya, doubling it in a way, or even according to Śaṅkh. (15,15,1ff.) directly after the unction and daśapeya festivals.

Though the Namuci myth and the sura cult connected with it can not be fully discussed here, so much seems sure that Namuci in the surā cycle, as the restrainer who must be slain to release the invigorating fluids, plays the same part as Vṛtra in the Soma cycle.[23] Indra's freeing himself from Namuci may therefore well be compared with his victory over Vṛtra as signifying his birth. In this connection it is interesting that, as already observed, Indra's victory over Namuci also provides, according to MS. and TB., the background of the apamargahoma,[24] I interpreted the apamārgahoma as the disposal of the remainders of the birth process (the embryonic covers). A similar interpretation may be given to the piece of lead kicked away by the king. When Indra disintegrated by the effect of his Soma indulgence the "dryng up fluid" (*śuṣa*) which streamed from his navel became lead, as we are told by ŚB. 12,7,1,7.[25] Thus the lead can well represent the embryonic covers, especially the umbilical cord,[26] which stick to the embryo at the moment of its birth in much the same way as Namuci's head (the piece of lead) when twisted off by Indra rolls after Indra menacing him. To other words, by kicking the lead away

[22] Cf. Hillebrandt, *V. M.* 2, p. 231f. Kauś. 8,18 gives a list of substances called lead, in which foam is included.

[23] Cf. Hillebrandt, *V. M.* 2, p. 230.

[24] Cf. MS. 4,3,4; 43,7; TB. 1,7,1,6. MS.'s account of the Namuci myth may be compared to Mhbh. 9,43,34ff. where Indra clearly is the sun god.

[25] The lead's originating from Indra's drying up umbilical fluid seems to provide another link between lead and the foam weapon, which latter is described as "neither fluid nor dry".

[26] It may be noticed that the navel is often considered as a generative organ, cf. J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 84ff. Lead is also used in a rite against miscarriage: the woman is caused to step on leaden objects and then sprinkled (Kauś. 34,3ff.).

the sacrificer frees himself from the embryonic covers in their dangerous aspect Though I have not been able to ascertain in a conclusive way what is the relation between Namuci and the eunuch or long haired person it seems to me that the eunuch represents Namuci The eunuch or long haired person being according to the ŚB [27] neither man nor woman reminds us of an androgynous primeval being like Prajapati while Namuci seems to represent the dangerous aspect of such a being [28] If this assumption should prove true it would appear that Indra the king after having freed himself from Namuci (or after having been born from him) places the afterbirth back into the place of origin

The piece of copper has if I am right a totally different background ritual hair-cutting or shaving wh ch is an essential part in consecratory rites like for instance the *diksa* [29] and which might also be expected to form part of the unction ritual as it actually does in the rajabhiseka or mṛtyusava As the unction ritual of the rajasuya has been embedded in the Soma paradigma the shaving is already performed at the Soma diksa and thus would he superfluous here in the unction ritual proper When dealing with the hair-cutting festival I shall discuss the significance of the hair shaving As we shall then see the ritual shaving is considered equal to the periodical shaving of the earth when the vegetation withers away through the heat of the sun the sacrificer being shaven personifies the earth which shorn of its old vegetation will produce new crops The identification of the copper razor with the sun lies therefore near at hand this identification seems to be implied when ŚB 2 6 4 5 declares the copper razor (*loha kṣura*) is the form of the brahman power for the brahman power is Agni and Agni is red (*lohita iva*) with it he shaves round about (*parivartayate*) thus with the brahman power he surrounds him The sacrificer enveloped by the brahman becomes a cosmic being as the universe is surrounded by the rotation of the sun thus he is sur rounded by the circulatory movement of the razor (*parivartayate*) [30] The throwing away of the piece of copper in the direction of a barber or as the WhYV has it in the mouth of a long haired person (*kesava*) seems

[27] ŚB 5 1,2 14 5 4 1,2

[28] It seems s gnificant that in Buddhist mythology Namuci occurs as a name of Mara the demon of fertility and carnal love in their death like aspect cf E Windisch Mara und Buddha *Abh Kon Sachs Ak Wiss ph l hist Classe 36 (1895)* p *185*

[29] Cf CH no 14a in general H Oldenberg, *R d V* p 425ff

[30] For the correspondence sun-razor cf **AV 6 68 1 3** where Savitṛ is said to have shaved king Soma. Also one of the formulas with which the vira j bricks are laid in the course of the agnicayana the razor with strop (*kṣuro bhṛjvān*) is the metre (TS 4 3 12f) or 'the parching (?) razor (*kṣuro bh raja-*) is the metre (VS 15 4) this razor is declared to be the sun (ŚB 8 5 2 4)

therefore to convey the idea that the dangerous aspect of the cosmic solar envelope of the sacrificer is done away with or that the sun razor having fulfilled its function is done away with to be reproduced in due time The long haired person is considered by ŚB as neither man nor woman [31] and the removal of the piece of copper in his direction may as in the case of the lead perhaps be taken as placing the solar envelope back into the primeval androgynous being The two rites concerning respectively the piece of lead and the piece of copper, though originating from totally different spheres converge as to their meaning The convergence is probably stimulated by the fact that the two personages the eunuch and the long haired person who both are called *keśava* by the ŚB have much in common and in fact seem to express the same mythological reality Thus the two rites separated from their original background (the sura cult and the ritual shaving) easily fell in line with each other The two pieces of metal became merely undifferentiated representatives of the embryonic cover in its dangerous aspect as many as there are deaths so many are given their due (are put off) he throws away the *papman* he casts off the *naṣṭra rakṣamsi* [32]

e Against the dangerous covers (lead and copper) the two plaques (silver and gold) can be set as the representatives of the covers in their beneficent aspect These two plaques give the sacrificer protection on both sides as TB 1 7 8 2 declares They protect him against the disintegrating effect of the unction when Varuna was anointed the waters struck off his vital force (*indriya vīrya*) the interposing of a gold plaque (serves) for not striking off the vital force as MS 4 p 54 15 has it By their weight (a hundred manas) and the hundred holes they represent the hundred physical and psychical forces (*ayus indriya*) of man and thus confirm the sacrificer in the possession of these forces [33] The holes in the

[31] On the long haired person see also Keśavapaniya Annotat ons

[32] Cf resp MS 4 p 54 9 (also ŚB 5 4 1 1) MS 4 p 54 6 (also TB 1 7 8 2) ŚB 5 4 1 10 For the relat on of *pāpman* and *nāṣ rā rakṣāṃs* with the embryon c covers see the d scuss on on the Anumat N rṛt offering and on the apāmargahoma. As to the two metals, copper and lead as represent ng the sacr ficer s embryonic cover we may compare ŚB 13 2 2 16ff where t is prescr bed that the sacrificial horse should be d ssected w th a gold kn fe the animals wh ch are attached to the limbs of the horse (*parv angy a*) w th copper kn ves and the other an mals w th iron kn ves The paryaṅ gyas being equated to the k ng s electors (*ājño rājāno rā akṛtaḥ*) and the other an mals to the people (*iś-*) the image referred to is that of the king (gold) surrounded by the c rcle of the electors, comparable to the ratn ns (copper) and by a second circle formed by the people (ron) (Cf Dumont, *Aś amedha* nos 486–488)

[33] MS TB ib

plaque placed on the head of the sacrificer are intended to let the unction fluid flow through,[34] flowing through the holes in the gold plaque the unction fluid becomes *āyuṣya-* and *varcasya-*, thus imparting force and lustre (*ayus-* and *varcas-*) to the sacrificer.[35] In case there are nine holes in the gold plaque, the reference is to the nine vital functions or breaths (*prana*) which are thus imparted to the sacrificer.[36] As to the plaques' representing the covers of the sacrificer a most interesting view is expressed by MS (4, p 54 13) where the silver plaque is identified with the earth and the gold one with the sky, the sacrificer is surrounded by heaven and earth. We are reminded here of the cosmic egg, half of its shell was silver, the other half gold. When the egg was broken open the sun was born, while the silver egg shell became the earth and the gold one the sky.[37] Viewed in this light the king is the cosmic embryo – the sun or the brahman, the sun in this connection being identified with the brahman by ChU 3,19,1 4 – enveloped by the earth and the sky.

[34] Cf Varaha 3 3,2,49 *rukmam pratyancam suncati*.
[35] Cf MS, *TB*, 11 cc.
[36] Cf ŚB 5,4 1,13.
[37] Cf ChU 3,19, JB 3,360–61 (cf W Caland, Over en uit het JB,' *Versl en Med Kon Ak v Wet Amsterdam afd Letterkunde*, 5, 1 1 (1914), p 45) in the JB the earth is gold and the sky silver. Cf also RV 10, 129. AV 4 2,7–8.

XIV

UNCTION (*ABHIṢEKAḤ*)

TS 1 8,14, TB 1,7,8, MS 2,6 11, 4,4,5, KS 15,7, VS 10,17–19, ŚB 5,4,2,1–6
Baudh 12, p 101 10–102,3 Āp 18 15,10–16 8, Hir 13,5,31–34, Kāty 15,5,30–6,9

While the sacrificer stands[1] on the tiger skin with raised arms and his face turned to the east, the unction is administered to him by four persons standing round him at the four cardinal points, each holding a special unction cup filled previously (Preparation of the unction fluid) In the following table I have listed the cardinal points, the officiants and the kinds of wood of their unction cups

East	*South*	*West*	*North*
Taittiriyakas (Baudh Āp Hir)			
adhvaryu[2]	rajanya or brahman priest[3]	vaiśya	*janya* or *janya- mitra-*[4]
pālaśa	udumbara	aśvattha	nyagrodha
Maitrayaṇiyas (Mānava Vāraha) [5]			
janya mitra [4]	brahman priest	vaiśya	*bhrātṛvya* (rival)
nyagrodha	palaśa	aśvattha	udumbara

According to the WhYV the brahmanic officiant (either the adhvaryu or the royal chaplain) is standing in front (east) of the sacrificer with the palaśa cup, behind (to the west) the others are standing a relative (*sva*)

[1] According to Baudh , however the sacrificer seems to sit on the tiger skin (cf 12, p 101 5 *tad yajamanaṃ prāñcam upaveśya*)

[2] According to Baudh the palāśa cup was held by the brahman priest when the unction cups were being filled At the moment of the unction it is taken over by the adhvaryu who officiates at the unction instead of the brahman priest.

[3] The alternative given by Āp who borrowed it from the Maitrāyaṇiyas.

[4] *janya-* (or *janya mitra-*, as borrowed by Āp from the Maitr) clearly denotes a kind of relative Its exact meaning seems to have been no longer clear to the sūtra authors The WhYV has it deformed to *mitrya rājanya* (an allied rajanya) Caland translates *janya- mitra* as ein Freund aus der Ferne Further see Annotations.

[5] The Maitr begin with the brahman priest in the south consequently the others move up one place except the vaiśya who also here has his station in the west

with the udumbara cup, a vaiśya with the aśvattha cup and a rājanya who is friendly disposed towards the sacrificer with the nyagrodha cup Before the unction the adhvaryu recites over the sacrificer

"Soma, king Varuna, and the gods who instigate (engender) holy order (*dharma-*), may they instigate thy speech, may they instigate thy breath, may they instigate thy sight, may they instigate thine ear "[6]

According to Baudh the sacrificer looks at the unction fluid held up towards him by the four officiants (aveksaṇa)[7]

The unction formula proper, as given by the TS, is "With Soma's glory (*dyumna*) I anoint thee, with Agni's brilliance (*tejas*), with the sun's lustre (*varcas*), with Indra's power (*indriya*), with the strength (*virya-*) of Mitra and Varuna, with the force (*ojas*) of the Maruts "[8]

First the adhvaryu anoints, reciting the unction formula, then the other officiants, each in his turn probably following a clockwise order of succession According to Āp each officiant repeats the unction formula to which the adhvaryu adds at each unction "Thou art the lord of kingly powers"[9] Baudh, however, has only the adhvaryu pronounce the unction formula, supplemented with "thou art lord of kingly powers" and "protect from the sky" (*ati divas pahi*)[10]

The WhYV mainly agrees with the Taittiriyakas, but breaks the unction formula proper into four parts (1) "I anoint thee with Soma's glory", (2) "I anoint thee with Agni's brilliance (*bhrajas-*)", (3) "I anoint thee with the sun's lustre (*varcas*)", (4) "I anoint thee with Indra's power (*indriya*)" Each time are added the formulas "be thou lord of kingly powers", and "protect against the thunderbolt" (*ati didyun pahi*)[11] Moreover the first unction officiant (the adhvaryu or the purohita) recites

[6] The formula is TS 1,8 14f The corresponding formula in MS (2,6 8 69 1) and KS (15 6 213 16) is "Soma Indra, Varuna, Mitra Agni these dharma supporting gods must support the dharma, KS enlarges this formula with they must instigate (engender) for this one (his) speech MS and KS however have the formula recited over the sacrificer after the offering of the remainder of the unction fluid left over in the collective vessel after the four unction cups have been filled (cf chapter Preparation of the Unction fluid 5) The WhYV has no corresponding formula

[7] For the aveksaṇa of the unction fluid, cf AB 8 6 9 11

[8] MS and KS have the same formula but MS mentions only four gods with their powers (Soma s *dyumna*, Agni s *tejas*, Indra s *indriya* and the *kratu* of the Viśve Devaḥ) KS. mentions also the sun s *varcas-*, like TS.

[9] TS 1 8,14h this formula is in use only with the Taittiriyakas.

[10] The WhYV applies the equivalent of this last formula to the unction Āp and Hir, however (following MS), use it when the sacrificer takes off his unction apparel (cf chapter Preparation of the Sacrificer) It is not clear whether Baudh intends the unction formulas to be pronounced only once or to be repeated at each turn

[11] The last formula according to ŚB 5,4,2,2 serves the purpose of protecting the sacrificer from being hit by arrows (*iṣubadha-*)

the proclamation formula (in its WhYV -version) used already before at the devasū offerings "Ye gods do ye instigate this N N . , this is your king, O ye N N (name of the people), Soma is the king of us brahmins". ↓After they have administered the unction the four anointing officiants wipe the *unction fluid dripping from the sacrificer's body in upward* direction by means of their unction cups (BlYV), or the sacrificer does so himself using the antelope horn[12] (WhYV) This act is accompanied by the stanza "(the waters) have turned back from below (going) upward following the Serpent of the Deep (Ahi Budhnya) (in his course), they move on the back of the mountain, of the hull, (like) ships, pouring out spontaneously on their way (*svasica iyanah*)" [13]

The unction fluid, which in the way prescribed by the BlYV drips into the unction cups, is poured together in the adhvaryu's pālāśa cup and afterwards used in the ceremony of the interchanging of names to be described in the next chapter The WhYV does not prescribe the collecting of the fluid dripping down from the sacrificer, but has it rubbed in by means of the antelope horn

According to Baudh the unction and the wiping upward are immediately followed by an acclamation probably to be performed by the anointing officiants "Anointed is N N, descendant of N N, son of N N, grandson of N N, great grandson of N N, by the rājasuya" Then the sacrificer, again according to Baudh , wipes his face while the adhvaryu pronounces two formulas mentioning Varuṇa [14]

In the WhYV the unction ceremony is closed by the sacrificer's performing the three Viṣṇu steps (also Baudh) According to Kāty the Śunahśepa legend can already now be recited (between the unction proper and the wiping)

ANNOTATIONS

Mr Hocart has adequately characterized the meaning of the unction when he called it "a baptism after birth" [15] Of course the term baptism

[12] The antelope horn belongs to his dikṣā equipment (not to his unction apparel as it seems), cf CH no 17f

[13] TS 1 8 14k MS and KS read beside other less important variants instead of *svasica iyanāh*, *svasico na vāṇīh* (like spontaneously pouring voices) what seems more intelligible (cf Annotations) VS reverses the order of the two halves of the formula in accordance with the movement of the water that first streams down from the sacrificer s back (VS , like MS reads *pṛṣṭhāt*) and is then wiped upward.

[14] This latter act occurs with Baudh at all unctions, cf the chapter Offerings to the Devasū gods.

[15] A. M Hocart, *Kingship* p 79

should not be taken here in too strict a sense To do justice to the Indian context the royal unction can perhaps best be compared with the bathing of the newly-born child, as prescribed in the domestic ritual, and by which the child is freed from "Varuṇa's fetter" and is equated to the sun released by the gods from darkness,[16] or, in terms of the Buddha legend, with the ablution of the newly born Bodhisattva [17] The king's birth has been elaborately prepared and even prefigured in two ways by the conception and forming of the king's new body in the waters (chapter Preparation of the unction fluid) and by his donning the womb garments and his further equipment (chapter Preparation of the sacrificer) "When the adhvaryu causes the sacrificer to put on the womb garments he engenders him, considering 'When he is born I will anoint him'," as ŚB 5, 3, 5, 24 has it Strictly speaking it would therefore seem as if the central moment, the birth itself, is not represented in the ritual We should not, however, make too sharp a distinction between the moment of birth *and* the ensuing "baptism" or unction The unction, as well as the dikṣa bath (*apsu dīkṣā*), the avabhṛtha, the bathing of the newly born child or of the Bodhisattva, can be considered the ritual figuration of the regenerating contact with the primordial waters, the source of existence,[18] the unction, like Christian baptism, is the new birth itself [19] Thus the "kingmakers" (*rajakartṛ-*) at the so called mahābhiṣeka of Indra described in the AB acclaim the king with the words 'the royal power has been born, the kṣatriya has been born, the overlord of all being has been born, the eater of the people has been born, the slayer of the enemies has been born, the protector of the brahmins has been born, the protector of the cosmic order has been born" [20] That the unction rite under discussion represents the new birth is already suggested by the word *rajasuya* ("bringing forth

[16] Cf e g HirGS 2 3,10 *The relevant formulas have been quoted above (chapter Iṣṭis for Anumati – Nirṛti Annotations)*

[17] On the congruence of the Bodhisattva s ablution and the royal unction as well as of the Buddhist birth legend and the royal consecration in general cf P Mus *Barabuḍur*, 5, ch 12 (*BEFEO* 33, p 822ff)

[18] On the cosmogonic and regenerating function of the waters cf Eliade, *Traité* ch 5, especially p 170 In passing it should be noticed that the unction or besprinkling (*abhiṣeka-*) is to be distinguished from the application of ointment to eyes and body (*añjana*) as described in the chapter on the preparation of the sacrificer At any rate both procedures, though probably originating from different backgrounds converge as to their meaning both purport to regenerate and give a new body

[19] Cf v d Leeuw, *La Religion*, p 338f Eliade *Traité*, p 174f , R B Onians *Origins of European Thought*, p 189f

[20] AB 8,17 5 (cf 8,12 5) This acclamation is performed between the enthronement and the unction proper We may compare the acclamation which Baudh prescribes to be performed after the rājasūya unction

the king") when applied to the unction waters.[21] It has already been seen that the rites concerning the preparation of the unction fluid amounted to the forming of the sacrificer's cosmic body. The unction can therefore perhaps best be described as bestowing the new body on the royal sacrificer. This idea finds also a clear expression in the unction ceremony as performed on the occasion of the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice: having been anointed the sacrificer descends from the throne, uttering a couple of formulas according to which he firmly establishes himself in his (new) limbs, body and vital functions.[22]

The four anointing officiants who, standing around the king, confer upon him his new body, can readily be put on a par with the womb or embryonic envelopes from which he is born at the moment of his unction. This shows to advantage when the identity of the four anointers is taken into consideration. As in the case of the ratnínām havíṃṣi several groups can be distinguished, in the present case these groups are: the social classes, the priests and the sacrificer's relatives. The social classes dominate in Baudh.'s version: the adhvaryu and the brahman priest representing the brahmins, the rājanya and the vaiśya representing the two other classes who have access to the Veda and the ritual; Baudh.'s commentator Bhavasvāmin completes the picture by explaining *janya-mitra-* as a śūdra. Of the priests only the adhvaryu and the brahman are mentioned as anointing officiants (Āp., Hir.), elsewhere, however (in the vājapeya), all four sacrificial priests surround the sacrificial pole when the sacrificer mounts it.[23] The relatives are not only represented by the *sva-* in the WhYV version, but also, as I presume, by the *bhrātṛvya-* (son of the father's brother and thereby a potential rival) and the *janya-mitra-*.[24]

[21] Cf. chapter "Preparation of the unction fluid."
[22] Cf. Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, no. 677. Āp. 19,10,2.
[23] Cf. Āp. 18,5,16.
[24] As to the meaning of *jana-* and *janya-*, they are mostly translated by Caland as "foreign (people)". There are, however, strong reasons to believe that they refer to some kind of kinship. ŞaḍvB. 1,7,3 "the *jana-*s are the Fathers and *janya-* means "related to the Fathers". In case sacrificial ghee is spilled the following formula is to be recited: "To the gods, to the *jana-*s the sacrifice has gone, from there the blessing (*āśis-*) of the sacrifice must return to me, to the Fathers, to the *jana-*s, to the human beings, to the *jana-*s, to waters, plants, trees, to the *jana-*s, to the five tribes, to the *jana-*s." (cf. Āp. 9,13,5; MS. 1,4,9: 57,3; KS. 32,6: 24,3). What is being spilled, or left, the overflowing, is as has been seen (I refer to the discussion on the Anumati-Nirṛti offerings) the seed of new generation, thus ŚB. 12,4,1,7 prescribes to touch the spilled milk of the agnihotra with the words "(he) has spilled, (he) has been conceived, (he) has been procreated" (*askann, adhita, prājani*) and explains: "the earth is the womb, the milk is the seed." Now, when it is said that the spilled ghee goes to the *janas* from where in return the blessing is to come back, the reference clearly is to a cyclical process of reproduction in which the entities referred to as *janas* – mark also the ety-

it may be concluded that the king imitates the course of the universal rhythm of the fertility processes at the joint of two time cycles he is born and at the same time re-enters the womb, dissolves or becomes a dikṣita again, to be pieced together and ripen again during the course of the following year, at the end of which he undergoes at once both a new birth and a repeated death, and so forth in an unending sequence

The cosmic implications of the unction ceremony are clearly brought out by its setting, the scene of the unction is a replica of the universe the king standing in the centre and stretching his arms to the sky imperson ates, as has been seen, the cosmic pillar, round him the officiants are standing and confer on him his new body from the four points of the compass, moreover each officiant – at least in the version of MS and the WhYV , where each officiant has his own formula – imparts to the king the quality of one of the gods mentioned in the unction formula Soma's glory Agni s brilliance etc Attention should also be drawn to the sun wise movement beginning in the east (or south) constituted by the order of succession in which the unction is administered by the officiants, in this way, it seems, the rotation of the cosmic forces round the axis mundi is enacted at the moment of the unction [31] The regenerating effect of this rotatory motion which has already been met with (apamarga homa Mounting of the Quarters of Space) will be studied in conneetion with the ceremonial chariot drive it will also be seen to play an important part in the enthronement and dicing rites

The idea of the cosmic rotation stands out most clearly in the unction fluid s being wiped upward The unction fluid dripping down from the king s body – from the back of the mountain the bull ' – is caused to move upward again – they have turned back from below (going) up-ward ' In the administration of the unction the cosmic rotation was re-presented in a horizontal scheme uniting the four points of the compass, here the rotatory movement of the cosmic forces of fertility (the unction waters) are represented in their vertical rotation from sky to earth and back again to the sky, recalling the well known cycle in which the two fundamental elements fire and water alternate with each other in upward

[31] To this effect the unction as performed during the Siamese coronation is to be compared the king is seated on an octogonal throne each side of which faces one of the eight points or intermediate points of the compass in the middle of the throne stands a pole bearing the royal umbrella. The king facing the eastern direction receives the unction fluid from one of the officiants, then shifts his place so that he faces the south east and receives the unction fluid from the officiant of the south-eastern direction and so forth till he has described a full circle (cf H G Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies* p 78ff)

and downward movement (fire smoke-clouds water rain plants fire) Indeed, as has been argued in the discussion on the preparation of the unction fluid, fire and water are both present in the unction fluid, they are set in motion on their rotatory course moving through the points of the compass to the centre and from the sky to the earth and back again, streaming along "the back of the mountain, the bull [32] The king thus becomes the pivot and source of the forces of fertility This idea can also be observed in the unction according to the *rajabhiseka* rite when he has received the unction the king is caused to raise his arms with the formula 'Rise up ye two arms that we may live, besprinkle our pastures with ghee [33]

The same order of ideas seems to underlie the reference made in the wiping formula to Ahi Budhnya, the 'Serpent of the Deep , whom the (unction) waters are said to follow [34] Ahi Budhnya unites in his nature both fire and water he is said to have been born in the waters and to be sitting on the bottom (*budhna*) of the streams [35] He resembles Apam Napat, the fire god conceived of as the son of the waters, and indeed is often associated with him Ahi Budhnya is also the old extinguished garbapatya fire,[36] in which case he is clearly the chthonic 'serpent of the *deep* Rising to the sky as he clearly does according to the formula under discussion [37] he seems to symbolize the renewed fire whose flames surge upward again [38] The idea evoked by the formula is that of the king s personifying Ahi Budhnya surging upward to the sky and thus forming the path along which the fertilizing fluids take their course

The version of the wiping formula of MS and KS reads *svasica na vanih* the unction waters streaming along the sacrificer are thus compared

[32] For the intimate connection of the two fundamental elements fire and water with the mountain cf J Fil ozat, *La doctrine classique de la médicine indienne* p 51

[33] TB 2,7 15 6 cf Ap 22,28 14 Baudh 18 17 362 18 For the vertical cosm c rotation cf also A Coomaraswamy *Spiritual Authority* (New Haven, 1922) p 68 and n 50

[34] On Ahi Budhnya cf Macdonell *VM* p 72f Hillebrandt *VM* p 305f Keith *R.Ph V* p 136f J Gonda *Visnuism* p 29f

[35] RV 7 34 16

[36] Cf Hillebrandt *VM* p 306 and the relevant passages quoted there

[37] As to his rising to the sky though nowhere else explicitly mentioned it may be noticed that he is by the ancient interpreters considered to reside in the atmosphere, cf Keith *l c* Macdonell *VM* p 73 It is not necessary and even confusing to cons der Ahi Budhnya as a 'personification of the writhing cloud" (Keith) The underlying idea seems rather to be aga n the cycle fire-smoke-cloud rain plants-fire

[38] It may be noticed that there are ind cations that the rājasūya originally was associ ated with a yearly rite for the renewal of the fire I refer to the discussion on the role of the *purvagni* in the chapter on the chariot drive and the enthronement rites.

to the voices (or streams?) pouring out by themselves The seven *vānīḥ* are RV 3 1 6 said to have conceived Agni in their womb[39] In RV 10 123 3 the *vanḥ* seem to be related to Soma in much the same way as cows licking a calf[40] Set against this background the reference to the *vanḥ* perfectly fits in the imagery of the unction ceremony as analyzed above In his new body conferred on him by means of the unction the king unites both the igneous (Agni) and the aquatic principle (Soma) as can be seen from the preparation of the unction fluid the unction waters streaming downward and upward along his back are compared to the *vānḥ* which like mothers also surround Agni and Soma and this comparison brings us back once more to the idea of conception and birth

To sum up the above considerations it can be stated that the king in the unction ceremony is the living representation of the cosmic pillar the pivot of the cosmic rotation as well as the way between heaven and earth along which the fertilizing fluids perform their circuit He is however not statically so through his unction he resumes both poles of the cosmic rhythm he is born and at the same time disintegrates dies enters the womb again to be reborn at the end of yet another time cycle Like the cosmic man Prajapati he enacts the cosmic process of birth – disintegration rebirth

[39] Cf Lüders, *Varuṇa* p 154 also RV 3 7 1 Sayaṇa in both cases explains the *vānḥ* as the streams, which meaning would perfectly meet the present case also
[40] Cf also RV 9 82 4

time in the wrong order – e g Daśaratha is the son of Rāma –, the second time in the right order – Rāma is the son of Daśaratha [6]

The Taittiriyaka version as given by Baudh prescribes that the adhvaryu takes the palaśa cup in which the remainder of the unction fluid is gathered to the house of the heir apparent There, while the chief royal consort (the mother of the heir apparent) and the heir apparent take hold of him from behind, the adhvaryu offers only one libation, probably of ghee as the libatory substance is not mentioned,[7] at which he recites the Prajapati stanza but without the addition of the names of the sacrificer and his son Then the adhvaryu hands the pālāśa cup to the heir apparent, saying 'This cup will be your heritage, when I (shall) anoint you, this will be yours" [8] Thereupon they return to the place of sacrifice where the other remainder of the unction fluid, left in the collective vessel at the time of its division over the four unction cups, is poured in the āgnidhra fire as an offering for Rudra [9]

Much the same account is given by the WhYV The WhYV , however, has the whole episode take place on the place of sacrifice The formula for handing over the palaśa cup to the heir apparent is given by Kāty 'This sacrificial work (*karman*) of mine, this force (*virya*), my son will continue' [10] Then follows the libation of ghee in the garhapatya fire with the Prajapati formula in which the names of the sacrificer and his son are intercalated in the wrong and then in the right order as above Eventually the remainder of the unction fluid is poured into the agnidhra fire as an offering for Rudra [11]

ANNOTATIONS

Dealing with this ceremony Weber adequately compares it to the sampratti ceremony in which the dying father places all his mental and

[6] Āp and Hir also add the name of the mother which can also be changed then e g the first time D is the son of R , the son of Sītā", and the second time R is the son of D , the son of Kauśalya

[7] Cf Āp 24 1,23 If the verb *juhoti* has no object ghee is to be understood as sacrificial substance

[8] Cf the identical formula used when the adhvāryu hands the bow to the heir apparent in Baudh s vers on of the chariot drive (12,13 106.3) It is not on record in the saṃhitās and brāhmaṇas.

[9] Cf the chapter Preparation of the unction fluid

[10] This formula is also used at the conclusion of the new and full moon sacrifice, cf Hillebrandt, *NVO* p 173

[11] Probably the Taittiriyakas originally also held that it was the unction remainder which was offered to Rudra in the āgnidhra fire, not the division remainder TB , speaking only once of a remainder (*ucchesana-*) seems to refer to the unction remainder (1 7 8 5) while the divis on remainder is nowhere mentioned

physical faculties in his son who is thus enabled to continue his father's existence [12] According to an idea common to Indian thought the son continues his father's bodily existence the father is reborn as his son 'In your offspring you are reborn this o mortal is your immortality' [13] As has been seen the unction is the sacrificer's rebirth as well as his death The present rite is quite in line with this idea in that it stresses by means of the interchanging of their names the identity of the father with his son in whom he is reborn or in that it according to the other version, guarantees the continuity of the sacrificer's existence by means of the remainder of the unction fluid (the sacrificer's *karman* and *virya*) passed on to the son

The core of the ceremony under discussion is the offering of the remainder of the unction fluid to Prajapati in the domestic fire of the chief royal consort or its being handed over to the heir apparent This demonstrates in a limpid and explicit form the significance of the remainder already met with on other occasions like the extra element in numerical systems it encompasses expresses the whole and is at the same time the principle of continuity the seed of a new production cycle In this connection the Prajapati stanza recited at the offering either of the unction remainder itself or of a ghee libation in the apartment of the heir apparent deserves attention It is the last stanza which gives the solution of the cosmogonical riddle known as the Hiranyagarbha hymn [14] It is used throughout the ritual especially in those cases where continuity of life and fertility are at stake as the offering verse in an iṣṭi performed to obtain offspring and cattle [15] at the end of an offering to the Fathers (who are as is well known associated with fertility) during the Soma sacrifice [16] as the offering verse for the oblation of a dish which is prepared from the leavings of a cow sacrificed to the Fathers on the ekaṣṭaka [17] in several rites de passage such as marriage [18] parting of the hair [19]

[12] Cf ŚB 14 4,3 15–29 KausUp 2,15

[13] TB. 1 5,5 6 on the father's rebirth as his own son cf also AB 7 13,9 ŚB 12,4 3 1 Manava DhŚ 9 8 It will be seen to occupy an important place in the Śunaḥśepa legend too Cf also J H Hutton, *Caste in India* (London, 1951) p 252.

[14] RV 10 121 For this hymn which describes under various names the primeval principle or god cf H Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung* p 27

[15] Cf Caland, *WO* no 108

[16] Cf Āp 13 12,12 CH no 231

[17] Cf HirGS 2,15 13 The ekaṣṭaka (eighth day after full moon in the month Mâgha) as already has been seen (chapter Iṣṭis for Anumati Nirṛti) is considered the spouse of the year

[18] Cf HirGS 1 19 8 ŚaṅkhGS 1 18 4 ĀśvGS 1 4 4

[19] Cf HirGS 2,1,3 ŚaṅkhGS 1,22,7 ĀśvGS 1 14 3

promoting the birth of a male child (*puṃsavana*) name giving first eating first shaving [20] Significant is also its use as an offering verse for the offering of boiled over milk in an anthill, this latter rite has already been discussed [21] and it has been seen that it purports to the safeguarding of offspring and cattle [22] The use of this formula in the present rite lies in the same sphere The insertion of the names of the sacrificer and his son in the stanza seems to indicate that there is an intimate relation if not identity between Prajapati and the sacrificer Thus the formula seems to convey the idea that the sacrificer (and his son) encompasses all beings like the cosmic man Prajapati himself

In the light of these considerations it can be said that in the present rite the sacrificer like his prototype Prajapati is shown to encompass the universe (all beings) with respect to space as well as with respect to time by means of the handing over of the unction remainder and by the interchanging of names he extends himself over the subsequent generations and time cycles (Daśaratha is the son of Rama) and on the other hand resumes them in himself (Rama is the son of Daśaratha)

[20] Cf resp H rGS 2,2,2 2,4 10 2 5 6 2,6 2

[21] I refer to the d scussion on the kṣetrasya offering chapter Iṣṭis for Anumat N rṛtu

[22] It may also be noticed that the Prajāpati stanza is used as the offering verse at the offering of the two mahiman cups resp before and after the offering of the omentum of the sacrific al horse (cf Dumont, *Aśvamedh a* nos 554 and 559) Here too the names of the sacrif cer and his son are inserted in the stanza. These two cups are sa d to have come into existence before and after the b rth of the sacrific al horse represented as the l ving image of the un verse and thus to surround h m on both sides Be ng equated to day and n ght the r function seems to be to make the cosmic horse pass safely the jo nts between the subsequent time cycles of day and night (cf TS 7 5,25 2 BĀU 1 1 1 2)

XVI

THE CHARIOT DRIVE

TS 1,8,15, TB 1,7,9, MS 2,6,11–12, 4,4,5–6, KS 15,8, VS 10,21–25, ŚB 5,4,3, Baudh 12,7,12,12–14, Āp 18,17, Hir 13,6,1–16, 24, Kāty 15,6,13–36

After the unction rites a chariot drive, combined with a raid on a cow herd, takes place According to Baudh , who in this respect copies the vajapeya, the chariot drive has the character of a race, in which several competitors take part

Insertion in the Soma paradigma[1]

According to Baudh the preparation (taking down the chariot from its transport cart, harnessing etc) takes place at the moment of the distribution of the dakṣinās [2] Perhaps this is also the intention of Āp and Hir , though they give all rites connected with the chariot drive as a whole, without interposition of other rites, in the vajapeya, however, they prescribe the same moment for the preparation as does Baudh [3] The chariot drive proper commences after the prelude (*prastāva-*) of the first prṣṭha stotra The chariots come back after the libation of the mahendra graha [4]

In the WhYV all the inserted rites, from the unction onward, are placed between the marutvatiya-graha and the drawing of the mahendra graha [5]

[1] Cf above, Chapter VIII

[2] CH no 191 The distribution of the dakṣinas is according to Laty the moment of the raid on the weak relatives (see below) (Laty 9, 1 15) The chariots are, according to Baudh., part of the dakṣinas for the Soma festival, together with gold, garments horses cows, elephants, slaves The chariots, however, are passed over, as they are first to be used in the chariot race In mind the sacrificer assigns his own chariot to the adhvaryu (12,7 96 4) The actual gift is effectuated later on, after the recitation of the Śunahśepa legend (12,16 1105) For the chariots as part of the dakṣinas cf also KS 14,7 206.12.

[3] Āp 18,3,1, Hir 13,1 25

[4] Cf CH no 199–201 After the libation, the mahendra graha is left in the sadas The concluding rite the drinking of the remainder, is put off till after the Śunahsepa recitation (12,16 1109) Acc to Āp 18 20,1 and Hir 13,6,41 the libation itself is also put off till after the Śunahsepa recitation

[5] CH noss 197 and 198

Preparation

The chariot, placed on a transport cart (*rathavahana*), is standing at the S E corner of the mahāvedi (Baudh., Katy.) While the adhvaryu says the formula "Thou art the Vṛtra killing bolt (*vajra*) of Indra, with thee may he slay his foe (Vṛtra)", the chariot is taken down. Then it is moved to the uttaravedi and the horses are bathed.[6] Hereafter the horses are harnessed to the chariot with the words "By the precept of Mitra and Varuṇa, the directors, I yoke thee with the yoking of the sacrifice." According to the BlYV three horses are harnessed to the chariot, according to the WhYV four. The horses are rubbed on the back.[7]

Katy. has the horses yoked at the S E. corner of the mahavedi, from where the chariot is driven along the 'path of the dakṣinas' to the starting point of the course behind the cātvala.[8] The texts of the BlYV are silent on this point. From Baudh., however, it appears that the chariots are conveyed thither[9] and that the starting point and finish of the race is there.

Mounting the chariot[9]

With the Viṣnu steps, the sacrificer goes near the chariot and mounts it according to the WhYV., with the formula "For steadiness (*avyathāyai*), for independence (*svadhāyai*), (do I mount) thee, (I) the unimpaired *Arjuna*'.[10] *Then according to the BlYV, the heir apparent*[11] *mounts* after him and takes hold of him from behind with a triṣṭubh verse dedicated to Indra. According to the Taittiriyakas this verse is TS. 3, 4, 11 m.

O, thou much invoked, thou dost endure the foes, best be thy strength, thy gift here; bring riches with thy right hand. O Indra, thou art the lord of rich rivers.' The Maitrayaṇiyas take RV. 7, 21, 1.[12] Pressed is the divine Soma beverage, mixed with milk, Indra rejoices in it from his birth. We attend to thee, O driver of the bay steeds, with sacrifices,

[6] Both acts only in Baudh. as in the vājapeya (11 6 72 11 15). Here however, without mantras.

[7] Baudh. as in the vājapeya (cf. 11 6 73 2 5) again without mantra.

[8] 12 12 103 4.

[9] In the following Baudh. will not be taken into account. His view will be given separately below.

[10] The Kāṇva school has instead of Arjuna, Phālguna.

[11] *pratihita*. Caland renders "der ihm am nächsten stehenden Sohn". Baudh. calls him later on *rājaputra* (12,12 104 1). Cf. also Index verborum of Caland's edition of Baudh. (vol. III p. 79). The heir apparent probably acts as a charioteer (*sārathi*) or a chariot fighter (*savyaṣṭhi*), both of whom belong to the crew of the chariot.

[12] This verse belongs to the holy ritual and is recited at the filling of the cup (CH. no. 187) in the ordinary Soma ritual.

attend to our laud at the time of the Somic rapture" With the same verse the brahman priest 'accompanies' the sacrificer on the right The accompanying is understood by Caland as walking along with the chariot [13] The words *triṣṭubhanvetu* mean, however, possibly that the brahman priest recites his mantra, while the sacrificer mounts the chariot [14]

The chariot drive proper

With the formula "At the instigation of the Maruts may I conquer", the drive begins During his drive the sacrificer raids a kṣatriya armed with a bow who has taken up a position somewhere to the east or north of the sacrificial compound The sacrificer shoots his arrows (a bow and arrows have been given to the sacrificer earlier, when he was equipped for the unction) at the kṣatriya, with the words "The purpose has been fulfilled" (*aptaṃ manas*) Then he makes the chariot turn to the right with "I (may be united) with Indra power" (*indriyeṇa vīryeṇa*), returns and halts at the place where he began his drive Thus Āp and Hir prescribe According to the WhYV the central moment is the raid on a herd of a hundred or more cows, which belong to a relative of the sacrificer [15] These cows have been posted to the north of the āhavanīya fire, where also the house fire of the sacrificer,[16] placed on a cart, has been moved The sacrificer pulls up his chariot amidst the cows with the words "We have reached through mind" Then saying "With the Indra power (do I unite)" and 'I win these (cows), I make them mine", he touches one of the cows with the end of his bow [17] Thereupon he drives round the place of sacrifice, passing east of the sacrificial post and halts between the sadas and the śāla, at the antahpātya post, with the words "Being united with thee, O Indra, O quickly conquering, may we not go asunder, through loss of brahman Standing on the chariot, bolt in hand, dost thou keep the reins of the good steeds" [18]

[13] Also comm ad Hir 13,6 5 *dakṣiṇato brahmā gacchati*

[14] Cf K.S 14 7 20 6 9 According to Hir there is an alternative the *heir apparent takes hold of the sacrificer from behind* or the brahman accompanies him on the right. Mān seems to prescribe that it is the brahman who mounts the chariot after the sacrificer, with these words, cf Caland ad Āp 18,17 4

[15] *sva-* probably the same as the *sva-* who officiated at the unction

[16] *purvāgni* , the term is not quite clear Kāty s comm. takes it to mean the first house fire of the sacrifice (*prathamo gṛhasthasyāgniḥ*) or the gārhapatya fire

[17] *sam indriyeṇa*, Weber (p 58) translates Ganz durch (meine) Kraft", connecting these with the following 'ersiege ich hier diese (Kühe) ' These last words only in ŚB 5 4,3 10 cf also TS 1 8 15f., where also only '*sam aham indriyeṇa vīryeṇa*' I take the words "I win these (cows) etc." as a separate mantra.

[18] The raid is also mentioned by Lāty 9, 1, 14–22. There the king shoots his arrows

The touching with the bow's end finds another application in the BlYV. After the return of the chariot Āp. makes the sacrificer touch his wife (or the horses) with the bow's end with the same formula as the one used in putting down the chariot from its stand: 'Thou art the Vṛtra killing bolt of Indra etc.' Then he hands the bow to his wife with the words: 'This bolt is highly force winning (*vājasātama*) through it let our son win force (*vāja*).' [19]

Sandals of boar skin, amulets, concluding rites

Before stepping down from the chariot the sacrificer puts on a pair of sandals of boar skin (*varahi upānahau*) with the words: 'Thou art the ardour of the cattle, like thine may be my ardour.' [20] Then he looks upon the earth saying: 'Homage to Mother Earth, may I not hurt Mother Earth, may Mother Earth not hurt me.' Then he steps down and puts on three amulets: a silver one with: 'So great art thou, thou art life (*ayus*), bestow life upon me'; one of udumbara wood with: 'Thou art food (*urj*), bestow food upon me'; and a golden one with: 'Thou art the yoked (*yuj*), thou art splendour, bestow splendour upon me.' [21]

The rite with the amulets is in the WhYV performed in another way. Two round plaques, each 100 manas in weight [22] are fixed to the right hind wheel of the transport cart after the chariot has been put back on it. An udumbara shoot is hidden in the chariot track. The sacrificer touches the plaques with the formulas cited above and gives them to the brahman priest; [23] he also touches the udumbara shoot with the same words as above. Finally four libations for the unharnessing of the horses (*rathavi mocanāya*) dedicated to Agni, lord of the house, to Soma, lord of the trees, to the force (*bala*) of Indra and to the force (*ojas*) of the Maruts are made. Then the chariot is put back on the transport cart with the verse: 'The gander (*haṃsa*) seated in purity, the bright one (*vasu*)

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at b's weak relatives and takes all their property. One third he gives to the priests, one third to those who take part in the drinking ceremony of the daśapeya, one third is given back to the relatives.

[19] Hir. 13,6,10: only the handing over of the bow. He mentions the touching as an alternative. The handing over is borrowed from the Maitrayaṇiyas (cf. MS. 2,6,11; 71,1; 4,4,5; 55,20; Vārāha 3,3,3,6). Āp. clearly has doubled both acts.

[20] According to Baudh. 12,16; 111,6 the sacrificer leaves these sandals in the water of the avabhṛtha bath and then puts on other leather sandals.

[21] With the Maitrāyaṇīyas the golden amulet has its place between the two others (cf. Āp. 18,17,13).

[22] We are not told whether they are of gold, silver or any other material.

[23] Also according to the BlYV. the amulets are given to the brahman priest but only after the enthronement and connected rites have been completed.

seated in the atmosphere, the hotr seated at the altar, the guest seated in the house, seated among men, seated in the highest, seated in holy order, seated in the firmament, born of the waters, born of the cows, born of holy order, born of the mountains, the great holy order "[24] While the chariot is put back on its cart, the charioteer remains standing on it and jumps down afterwards [25]

The conclusion is formed by the ceremony of lowering the arms of the sacrificer, already dealt with above (Preparation of the Sacrificer)

The sequence of the concluding rites is that of the Taittiriyakas, as it appears from the order of the mantras in TS The Maitrāyaniyas have the following sequence amulets, lowering of the arms, sandals of boar skin, alighting from the chariot, enthronement (to be dealt with later on), libations for unharnessing, putting back of the chariot on its stand (cf Vārāha Śr S 3, 3, 3, 8–19) This sequence is followed by Hir The WhYV has libations for unharnessing, sandals of boar skin, alighting from the chariot, putting back the chariot on its stand, amulets, lowering of the arms

Procedure according to Baudh

Baudh splits the whole episode in two parts first the adhvaryu performs the drive symbolically, then the actual race takes place, on which occasion the sacrificer is substituted by the heir apparent [26] The putting on of the sandals of boar skin and the homage to Mother Earth form the beginning Then they go to the place where the chariots are lined up Apparently the chariot of the sacrificer has been driven thither, together with the dakṣinas, by the heir apparent, who alights when he sees them (the sacrificer, the adhvaryu, and their followers)[27] approaching The adhvaryu takes the bow from the pratihita, bends it and mounts the chariot with the words "At the instigation of the Maruts may I conquer" With "The purpose has been fulfilled", he leans on the pole of the chariot (*kubaram abhini śrayate*) Then the heir apparent mounts after him and takes hold of him from behind Thereupon the adhvaryu gives the bow back to the heir apparent and instructs him "At a distance of 36 śamyā throws a rajanya is standing with 1000 cows that must be conquered You will shoot an

[24] This verse is applied by the WhYV to the stepping down of the sacrificer from the chariot (this stanza = RV 4 40,5)

[25] This is prescribed in order to separate him from the *svargaloka-*, to which only the sacrificer is entitled Otherwise he would be equal in power to the king (cf TB 1,7,9,6, ŚB 5,4 3,23)

[26] Cf the vājapeya, Baudh 11,6–7

[27] *uttarata ete rathā yuktās tiṣṭhanti, tān dṛṣṭvaiva pratihito 'vatiṣṭhati* (12,12 103 6)

Essential in my opinion for this process is the rotatory motion whether the course takes the character of a race as in the vajapeya or is performed by a single chariot as in the rajasūya the track begins and ends at the same point In this respect the parallelism of the chariot race and the turning of the wheel of udumbara wood in the vajapeya taking place synchronically is elucidating The *vajra* is often associated with a revolving motion thus the wheel of udumbara wood is called a *vajra* [39] the cows are surrounded by *vāe vajra* [40] The girdle of the dīkṣita is also called a *vajra* [41]

In the vajapeya we may study the cosmic symbolism of the chariot course The wheel already mentioned is fixed to a pole in or near the catvāla [42] Of the catvala it is said Here was yonder sun from here they brought it to yonder world [43] Elsewhere[44] the catvala is identified with the Ocean In the pole surmounted by the wheel may be recognized the axis mundi crowned by the sun [45] that rises out of the Ocean and goes down in it While the wheel is turned the chariot race takes place beginning and ending at a point behind the catvala representing the Ocean The meta is identified with the heaven or the sun [46] The sacrificer goes by the chariot course from the Ocean to heaven[47] and back to the Ocean again as does the sun The formula with which the chariot is put back on its stand is elsewhere called the difficult ascension (*durohana*) [48] Here in the rajasūya however the descent seems to be meant which is implied in the first part of the verse the gander seated in purity (the sun or zenith) the bright one seated in the atmosphere the hotṛ seated at the altar (the earth) [49] Thus the course of the chariot corresponds to that of the sun encompassing in its march the whole world This may also be

[39] TB 1 3 6 1 MS. 1 11 7 168 12.
[40] AB 4 1 4
[41] MS. 3 6 7 69.2.
[42] Cf Āp 18 4 3 TB 1 3 6 1 According to the WhYV near the utkara (cf Weber *Sitz ber Berlin* 1882, p 788) This possibly means between utkara and cātvala. On the turning of this wheel for activating the *āja-* cf J Gonda, "Ancient Indian Kingship p *Numen* 4 (1957) 38 f
[43] MS 1 11 7 169.3 Cf PB 6 7 24 JB 1 87 (*Aurwahl* no 11) TB 1 5 10,1
[44] On the solar value of the wheel in general R. Pettazzoni *Essays* (Leiden, 1954) p 95ff Macdonell *VM* p 155 On the axis mundi J Auboyer *Le trône* (Paris, 1949) p 93ff
[45] TB 1 3 6 5 PB. 9 1 35 and 38
[46] Cf TB 1 3 6,1 5 PB. 18 7 9 Compare also AB. 4 7 4 the gods take on the occasion of a race the terrestrial fire as starting point and the sun as meta.
[47] Śāṅkh 11 14 13
[48] Cf ŚB 6 7 3 11

the reason that the length of the course is expressed in a number denoting the totality of the cosmos in the vājapeya the length is 17 bowshots, the number of Prajapati,[49] in the rajasuya it is 36 śamyā throws, which number is associated with the highest place in the universe (*naka-*) and with the year.[51] It may also be significant that, according to the WhYV, the house fire is also situated within the orbit described by the chariot. The house fire often stands for the earth as the ahavanīya fire stands for the heaven. Thus both heaven and earth are encompassed.

It appears to me, that taking all this into account we may consider that through the rotatory movement round the world the *rāja* is resuscitated and the universe renewed. The chariot drive, parallel to the course of the sun, evokes the renewing of the circulation of the productive forces of the cosmos;[52] in this respect we may compare the purport of the chariot course to that of the unction.[53] In this way it can also be understood why the sacrificer, who, during the exertion, stands with raised arms, lowers his arms only after the chariot race.[54]

Through his tour the king sacrificer also *integrates* the universe in his person. This may appear from the prescript that the sacrificer should recite during the vājapeya race the so-called *ujjiti* verses.[55] "Agni won with one syllable the voice (*vāc-*), the Aśvins won with two syllables the breathing in and the breathing out ..." The sequence continues up to and including the number 17: "Prajāpati won with 17 syllables the stoma consisting of 17 parts." After what was observed about the symbolism of numbers, the meaning of this rite is clear: the highest number of the series, 17, encompasses the preceding ones, as Prajapati, identified with the sacrificer, encompasses the *universe*. Elucidating in this respect is also the myth that his creatures left Prajāpati, who was exhausted, in pairs, in the form of a chariot he encircled them and integrated them again in his person.[56] Prajāpati-chariot is further equated to the sun.[58]

[49] For the number of 17 cf. Weber, *Ueber den Vājapeya Sitz der Berlin* 1892, p. 777.
[51] ŚB. 8.4,1,24.
[52] For the fertilizing circular motion of the sun cf. e.g. AV. 11,5,12: the sun as a *brahmacārin-*, carries a great phallos along the earth (*anu-bhṛ-*): he sprinkles seed on the earth; through it live the four quarters.
[53] For the raised arms cf. above, chapter: Preparation of the sacrificer, and Unction. The arms are identified with Mitra and Varuṇa, whose function in the representation of the sunrise gives the explanation of their identification with the arms of the sacrificer. In the same light we may place their appearance in the mantra accompanying the harnessing of the horses.
[54] Cf. Āp. 18.4.19; TS. 1.7,11.
[55] ŚB. 9.4,1,2. The myth is told in connection with the rāṣṭrabhṛt libations (cf. Āp. 17,19.12).
[56] ŚB. 9.4,1,15.

The renewing and integrating aspects of the course of the sun are clearly interrelated in AV 11,5,6 "The sun passes within a day, from the eastern Ocean, to the Ocean on the other side (*uttara- samudra*), gathering together the worlds, it shapes them repeatedly" It is interesting to note that the sun in this verse is styled *dīkṣita*, the dīkṣita being intimately related to the king Moving round the world like the sun, the king renews it and at the same time integrates it in his person Thus we may expect to find in the episode of the chariot drive the representation of conception and birth Moreover, as seen before, the notion of birth is intimately connected with Vṛtra killing and victory, to which the mantras refer In this light the scene of the homage to Mother Earth, before alighting from the chariot (or, according to Baudh, before the chariot drive), shows to advantage, especially when we take into account that the sacrificer now puts on sandals of boar skin the boar often represents the male partner of the earth [57] In this connection may be also quoted the stanza with which in the vajapeya, the chariot is moved to the uttaravedi [58] 'At the engendering of the *vaja* we commemorate the mother, the mighty, by name, into whom all this world has entered, in her let the god Savitṛ instigate for us holy order (*dharma*)" [59] The last words *Savitā dharma savişat* are explained by ŚB 5, 1, 4, 4 as 'Savitṛ must impel the sacrificer in her (Aditi)', which in this context must have the connotation of 'engendering the sacrificer" [60]

The touching of the wife of the sacrificer with the end of the bow also belongs in my opinion, to the sphere of conception and birth This bow is called *vāja* winning or Vṛtra killing vajra, the vajra is, as we saw already, 'instrumental in fertilizing and in promoting life' [61] We may also recall that Indra's killing of Vṛtra with the vajra connotes Indra's birth According to the WhYV not the wife, but one of the cows is touched with the end of the bow In this connection it may be worthwhile to note that the cows which the sacrificer conquers are part of the dakşinas On account of the dakşina cows of the Soma ritual it is said that Indra entered the dakşina and was born from the dakşina [62] The king at the chariot race is identified with Indra, as clearly appears from the formula

[57] Cf Gonda, *Visnuism* p 129ff, and the literature cited there
[58] Cf Baudh 11 6 72.10
[59] TS 1,7,7 c
[60] Cf also the course of the Aśvins, whose chariot coming out of the sea, drives along the sky Now the Aśvins also serve as escorts to the bride and the RV contains allusions to the myth that the daughter of the Sun god chose them as her husband after a racing contest (cf Macdonell *VM*, p 52, and the RV passages there cited)
[61] Gonda *Visnuism* p 98 For the sexual value of the bow cf also TS 4 5 6 c-d.
[62] TS 6 1 3 6 MS 3 6 8 70 5

with which the heir apparent takes hold of him when mounting the chariot His pulling up admidst the cows and touching them is a revitaliz ing contact comparable to conception The giving of the cows to the priests afterwards may then be interpreted as the discarding of the em bryonic envelopes after the birth and the disposing of them by placing them back in the womb of kingship, the brahman, represented by the priests) The birth from the brahman seems to me to be implied also in the context of the chariot course MS 4 4, 5 55 11 dealing with the brahman priest who 'accompanies' the king with a triṣṭubh verse, says 'the brahman of the sacrifice is Prajapati from Prajapati Indra was quickened born (*asūyata*) from Prajapati (the sacrificer) is quickened born' [63] As to the bow scene also Baudh s version deserves attention According to him the bow is handed over, not to the wife, but to the heir apparent with practically the same words as those used when the cup with the remainder of the unction waters is handed over to him We already know the remainder as the principle or seed for reproduction in this respect there is certainly a parallelism between the cup with the residue of the unction waters and the bow connected with the *raja* , the life-bringing substance Both are passed on to the son thus accentuating the rebirth of the king in his heir In this way it is not surprising that it is the heir apparent who according to Baudh performs the actual chariot race

Against the background of birth we may also view the victory cries which according to Baudh accompany the race PB 18 8 7 dealing with the first words of the bahiṣpavamana stotra of the abhiṣecaniya in which Vayu is mentioned says Vayu is voice he yokes the sacrifice with the voice with it (the voice) (the sacrificer) is anointed from all voices he is quickened born (*sujate*) all voices call him king It is also interesting that the birth of the sun from the world egg is greeted with cries [64] It may be interesting to observe the correspondence between the ideas expressed by the chariot drive – viz. the regeneration of the world by a tour round the world corresponding to the course of the sun

[63] Cf also MS 1 11 7 168 13 where Prajapati = the brahman priest (*brahmā j aj nasya*) who quickens the sacrificer *from the wheel on* wh ch he – *the priest* – sits wh le *reciting his sāman and which is turned synchronically* with the *chariot race* in the vājapeya From this it may be inferred that the brahman power (represented here by the brahman priest and the sāman) by the giratory motion on the wheel gives b rth to the sacrificer It is tempting to connect this scene with the brahman wheel of Śvetā śvatara Up 1 6 which symbolizes the cycle of existences and causes repeated reb rth thus linking up the ideas of rebirth from the sacrifice with the later metempsychosis doctrines. I do not mean to say that the metempsychosis originated in the ritual but, in my opinion both started *from the same basis*, us ng *the same symbols*.

[64] Chānd Up 3 19 3

and certain cosmogonical ideas of the Orphians [65] There the world is represented as an egg produced by a serpent, Chronos,[66] which may be compared to the chariot as representing the year The connection chariot drive – time is perhaps also to be seen in the verse, with which, according to the WhYV, the sacrificer mounts the chariot and in which he is identified with Arjuna and Phālguna Herein Weber sees a nakṣatra name [67] The nakṣatras give their names to the divisions of time and in the naksatra name the king mounting the chariot is put in relation with the divisions of time In this connection we may cite also the verse, with which the chariot is yoked in the vajapeya,[68] this verse refers to the 27 Gandharvas, who, in the beginning, yoked the horse These 27 Gandharvas correspond to the 27 nakṣatra's [69] The serpent who produces the world-egg is also called Heracles, 'which', as Onians remarks, 'may point to an identification with the sun or rather with the circle of the sun's path'

During the drive in the chariot, the sacrificer should shoot his arrows at an equal, a rajanya Perhaps we may recognize in this rājanya the representative of the old, worn out king (according to Lāṭy the *weak* relatives are raided), who must die and be replaced by the new king at the beginning of the new time cycle In this respect Frazer's materials on the funeral origin of games'[70] may be useful Though I am not inclined to subscribe to Sir James's theory, that the old king after a certain lapse of time had to show his strength in a contest and on failure was put to death [71] we may retain the fact that the chariot drive or race marks the

[65] Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*, 250f

[66] The idea of the world egg is perhaps also present in the rites of the chariot drive the gold and silver plaques which the sacrificer puts on, point in that direction (cp above the preparation of the sacrificer)

[67] Weber p 57

[68] VS 9,7

[69] Weber *Über den Vājapeya Sitzber Berlin* 1892, p 773

[70] J G Frazer *The Dying God* p 92 105

[71] The death of the old king is not necessarily the result of a contest as in the rājasuya there is, according to most texts no racing competition but a drive by a single chariot. The essential seems to be not the idea of contest, but the circular motion. As to the actual killing of the old king we may further observe that the central point is the renewing of the kingship and of all that is related to it. This renewal may be expressed by the killing of the old king but is only one of a great number of possible symbols. For instance in the dīkṣā we see the figuration of death and rebirth without any reference to actual killing The recorded cases of the killing of kings, or, more generally of human sacrifice may very well represent rather a specialization out of a number of other possibilities, than the original state of things. The theory that man as a sacrificial victim is primary and that he was secondarily substituted by an animal or a plant does not take into account the intimate interrelation of man animal and vegetation, which belongs to

dying of the old king and the manifestation or as I should like to put it the birth of the new king It is noteworthy that in the WhYV the representative of the old king should be a relative (*sva*) Also Lâty speaks of relatives The relatives as we had already the occasion to observe represent the womb from which the king is born Thus we may conclude that from the old king the new king ¬who in fact can be one and the same person – is born

The purport of the chariot course may be summarized as follows through his world encompassing tour the king rouses the *vaja* the fertility powers setting them in circular motion By this circular motion the cosmos and with it the king himself who integrates the cosmos are reborn

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the origins of symbolic thinking The human victim and its substitute will also originally have existed side by side as they do in the Vedic ritual, and in fact till the present day (Contrary to this W Kirfel in *Beiträge II Schubring dargebracht Alt und Neuindische Studien* No 7 (Hamburg 1951) ("Der Aśvamedha und der Puruṣamedha") pp 39–50 who poses the priority of the Puruṣamedha to the Aśvamedha.)

XVII

ENTHRONEMENT, GAME OF DICE

TS 1 8,16, TB 1,7,10, MS 2,6,12 4 4 6, KS 15,8, VS 10,26–29, ŚB 5 4,3
Baudh 12,14–15, Āp 18,18,5–19 6, Hir 13 6 17–23, 25–32, Kāty 15,7,1–21

After the king has alighted from the chariot and ceremonially lowered his arms, his enthronement, combined with a game of dice, takes place

Throne and its position

To this end a hut is built to accommodate the throne and the dicing ground The place of this hut is on the east side of the agnidhriya fire (Āp , Hir) or on the west side (Baudh) Varaha,[1] who does not speak of the hut places the throne on the south side of the āhavanīya fire, the regular place of the sacrificer, while Mānava places it on the north side of it The WhYV [2] puts the throne on the place of the tiger skin, where the unction was performed This hut has in the middle an elevation of earth (*khara* Hir) and four or eight outlet gutters (*apasrava* , Āp , Hir , Baudh) The entrance is in the south (Hir) and the roof slopes from east to west (Āp) In this hut a throne of khadira (Hir , Āp , Baudh) or udumbara wood is placed, with the words "You are the navel of kingly power " Then the throne is covered with a hide, arranged as an upper garment (Āp , Hir) [3] This covering is fixed with the words "Fix me in the people (Āp and Hir only) [4] The throne is described by ŚB 5, 4, 4, 1 as intertwined with leather thongs (*vardhra)yuta-*) and pierced, referring to the seat of the throne [5]

[1] 3 3,3 13

[2] According to the WhYV the hut is built only later on, see below

[3] *kṛttyadhivāsa-*, Caland 'Felluberwurf' Baudh. speaks of an *uttaram astaram adhivāsam*, explained by Bhavasvāmin as an upper garment (made from a hide) with the hair turned to the outside. According to the WhYV the throne is covered with an upper garment (*adhivāsa-*)

[4] *upanahani nahyati*, cf Caland ad Āp 18 18,6 Comm on Hir 13 6 18 'he attaches it to the legs of the throne'

[5] For the form of the throne cf J Auboyer, *Le trône* , p. 16ff

Enthronement

Then the sacrificer moves near the throne with the Viṣnu steps (Vārāha) and mounts it while the adhvaryu says: "Sit thou on the soft, sit thou on the pleasant seat May she not hurt you." The sacrificer answers: "May she not hurt me."[6]

The WhYV. after having placed the throne with. "You are soft ... etc." and covered it with an upper garment with: "You are the navel of kingly power", makes the sacrificer sit down on it with· "Sit thou on the soft, sit thou on the pleasant seat, sit thou on the womb of kingly power."

When the sacrificer is seated the adhvaryu says: "Varuna, whose ordinances are observed, has set himself down in the waters (*pastyāsu*), the skilful, for lordship (*sāmrājyāya*)."[7]

Here the WhYV. inserts the handing over of five dice to the sacrificer with the formula· "Thou art the surpassing (die; *abhibhū-*). The regions must be in accordance with you "[8] Then, only according to the WhYV., the sacrificer is beaten on the back with wooden sticks by the adhvaryu and his helpers. The accompanying formula, when this act is not performed silently, is· "We beat the sin away from you, we lead you past death." After this ceremony the sacrificer chooses a boon [9]

Here Hir., following MS. and KS.,[10] places the concluding acts of the chariot drive.

Then the priests and the ratnins[11] sit down round the sacrificer on the throne. The adhvaryu is seated east, the brahman south, the hotṛ west and the udgātṛ north of the sacrificer The ratnins seem to have no determined place, or it is prescribed that they should sit down east or north of the udgātṛ (Baudh., Mānava) The sacrificer from his throne addresses successively each of the chief priests with "O, brahman," whereupon each answers with. "Thou, O king, art brahman", adding

[6] Thus Baudh. using the formulas of TS., MS and KS have only "thou art soft, a pleasant seat" and "sit thou on the soft, sit thou on the pleasant seat", for placing the throne and seating of the king resp., cf Vārāha 3,3,3,13 and 15 The first of these two formulas is appropriated by Āp; Hir gives a contamination of the Taitt. and Maitr rites, describing first the seating of the sacrificer with the the two formulas from MS-KS, then repeating the seating with the Taitt. formulas "may she not hurt you" and "may she not hurt me".

[7] According to Hir the sacrificer himself mutters this stanza

[8] The WhYV. detaches the episode with the five dice from the game of dice proper (cf below)

[9] The choosing of a boon is also prescribed by the Maitrāyaṇiyas, but only after the dicing victory of the king and the giving of the dakṣiṇās (MS 4,4,6·57 15)

[10] Cf Vārāha 3,3,3,16-19

[11] Mānava excludes here from the ratnins the carpenter (*takṣan-*) and the chariot maker (*rathakāra-*)

"Thou art Savitṛ of true quickening" (the adhvaryu), "Thou art Indra of true force' (the brahman priest), "Thou art Mitra, the kindly" (the hotṛ), "Thou art Varuna of true order" (the udgatṛ) [13].

In the WhYV it is all four times the brahman priest who is addressed and who answers Moreover, the WhYV adds a fifth turn in which the brahman priest answers with the simple ' Thou art brahman",[13] without adding to it the identification with a god

Preparing the dicing ground

With the words You are the Vṛtra killing bolt of Indra, thereby be subject to me ', the brahman priest or the adhvaryu hands the sacrificial sword to the king The king answers (Baudh) ' Thereby I shall be subject to you , and passes the sword on to the heir apparent and the ratnins [14] When the sacrificial sword has reached the dice keeper, he (or he together with the cow slaughterer, Baudh) cuts the outlines of the dicing ground in the earth and (Āp) sprinkles it with water

According to the WhYV the dicing ground is prepared by the dice keeper and the pratiprasthatṛ To this act the WhYV applies the verse used in the Soma ritual for drawing the śukra graha, then the two of them erect the hut mentioned above with the verse for drawing the manthin graha [15] The hut and dicing ground thus prepared must be near the

[13] In MS and KS the sequence of the gods identified with the king is Savitṛ Mitra Indra, Varuṇa the WhYV has Savitṛ Varuṇa Indra Rudra. Cf also following note

[14] This is also the procedure followed by Śāṅkh (16 18 3–7) The gods listed there are Savitṛ Indra Varuṇa Rudra

[14] The order in which the sword is passed is given by Āp as follows brahman king pratihita, purohita, (other) ratnins Hir brahman (or adhvaryu) king purohita, pratihita, (other) ratnins Baudh adhvaryu, king sūta sūtagramaṇi sajāta (kinsman), sajātagrāmaṇi saṃgrahitṛ akṣavāpa together with the govyaccha (cow slaughterer) Varāha brahman king, pratihita senānī saṃgrahitṛ sūta grāmaṇi akṣavāpa, WhYV purohita (or adhvaryu) king brother of the king sthapati (chief the technical meaning of the term is not clear cf Macdonell Keith *VI* II 486) Cp the more extensive l st of ratnins in the ratninaṃ haviṃṣi where however the sajāta the brother of the king who according to the comm on Kāty is identical with the relative (*sva*) officiating at the unction and the sthapati do not occur Probably both accounts of the ratnins were originally not related to each other just as the ratninām haviṃṣi may originally have been independent of the unction complex.

[15] Cf CH no 132, c–d These verses are RV I0 123 1 Vena has driven on the females that have Pṛśni as an embryo he whose chorion is the l ghi at the measuring of the world of space Him in the meeting place of the waters and the sun the priests l ck with their songs, (as the cows) their calf' and RV 5 44 1 From him who sits on the strew who finds the sun you should as of old as before as always, as at present m lk with your speech the supremacy from the westward turned Vṛjana(?) you should milk the swift who wins the females among which you wax '

house fire (*pūrvāgni-*), which has been moved up to the north of the āhavanīya fire at the time of the chariot drive Then, as the WhYV prescribes, the adhvaryu lays gold on the dicing ground and offers ājya, ladled out in four times, on it, with the words "Agni, the Lord of the wide reaching order, delighting, Agni, the Lord of the wide-reaching order may rejoice in the ājya, svaha"

The game of dice[15]

As the intricacies of the ritual game occurring here and in the agnyādheya are not revealed by the texts, which moreover differ considerably, I shall confine myself to rendering the passages on the game as it occurs in the rājasuya and to drawing some general conclusions

Āpastamba "The aksavāpa strews more than a hundred or more than a thousand golden dice[17] (on the dicing ground) Four qualified (*tadyoga-*) persons a brāhmana, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a śudra play for the parts of a four-year-old cow (*paṣṭhauhī-*) They proclaim (the parts of) an odana (substituting the parts of the cow)[18] The fee for this ritual act are the two oxen that drew up the fire to (the north of) the ahavanīya hearth[19] They are to be given to the brahman priest With the words "*The king has burst forth*" (*udbhinnam rājnah*), he (*the brāhmana player?*) takes out (*udupya*) 140 golden dice, wins and hands five dice to the king with the words "This (man) has become king over the regions (*diśo 'bhy ayam rajabhut*)"

[15] For the dicing game see H Lüders, Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien, *Abh d Kön Ges d Wiss Gottingen, Phil Hist Kl*, N F IX, 2 (Berlin, 1907) W Caland, 'Zum altindischen Würfelspiel', *ZDMG*, 62 (1908), pp 123–8, A B Keith, "The game of dice", *JRAS*, 1908, pp 823–8 G J Held, *The Mahābhārata an ethnological study* (London-Amsterdam, 1935) Ch V, Gambling K de Vreese "The game of dice in ancient India", in *Orientalia Neerlandica*, (Leiden 1948), pp 349–62

[17] The dice in the ritual game are to be conceived of as nuts of the vibhitaka tree (Terminalia Bellerica) or imitations thereof Most probably they were not marked by pips or otherwise, cf Lüders, *o c*, p 17–19

[18] *odanam udbruvate*, it seems to me that this expression means that the players proclaim parts of an odana as their stakes in the game This odana substitutes the cow, mentioned in the previous sutra Caland renders the expression with 'Sie erklären als Ersatz dieser Kuh einen Reisbrei" The words *odanam udbruvate*, however, are completed by Baudh. (cp below) with indications about the actual parts of the players While Āp seems to refer to the stakes, Baudh refers to the portions each player gets of the assembled stakes after each turn, according to its outcome On the substitution of the cow by an odana cf Caland ad Āp 18,19,2b and 5,19,4 On the portions of the stake cf Lüders, *o c*, p 61

[19] *purvāgnivāhau*, This prescript seems to be borrowed from the WhYV, cf Kātyāyana, below The *purvāgni* seems to be the house fire of the sacrificer, moved on a car to a place north of the āhavanya at the time of the chariot drive In Āp 's context the gārhapatya fire will be meant, cf CH no 106.

Hiraṇyakeśin "The akṣavāpa strews 150 or 250 dice (on the dicing ground) Having, with the words "The king has burst forth", pushed aside four dice and having added 104 dice (to those on the dicing ground?),[20] they play for (the parts of) a four-year-old cow "A brāhmana, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a śūdra" (are the players), as the sacred tradition has it,[21] having won (the portions of) the odana that substitutes the cow (*odanam adhipanaṃ vyutya*), he (the brahmana player?) hands five dice to the sacrificer with the words "This (man) has become king of the regions" (The sacrificer) puts them back (on the dicing ground)"

The comm on Hir gives some interesting, though not wholly clear, details, perhaps referring to another way of dicing, not intended by the author of the sūtra The four dice that are pushed aside seem to be special ones "Great as a niṣka", "weighing more than four mānas", "of descending appellation" (*avarasaṃjñaka-*, viz kṛta, tretā, dvāpara, kali?), these special dice are quadrangular, triangular, bow shaped and circular respectively They are perhaps intended to serve as markers or lots that are drawn by the players to determine their graha (the number of dice, moved by each player) "The brahmana takes from (?on account of?) the quadrangular the ksatriya from the triangular, the vaiśya from the bow-shaped, and the śūdra from the circular Having so taken, each takes some of the undetermined dice and drops them on the dicing ground, then he must divide them four by four" [22]

Baudhayana 'The aksavapa and the govyaccha[23] throw 150 dice on the dicing ground Then (the adhvaryu) pushes aside five dice and hands them to the sacrificer, with the words "This (man) has become king of the regions' The sacrificer throws them back on the (other) dice [24] Then they proclaim (the portions of) the odana the brahman priest and the

[22] *caturo niruhaṃś, catuḥśatam akṣān apisṛjet* Are we to infer that each player had his stock from which he took dice to throw on the dicing ground? (cf de Vreese's observations, *art cit* on the *durodara* in the epic game)

[21] Cf MS 4 4 6 57 12ff

[20] The square, triangular, etc dice may perhaps be related to the kārṣāpaṇas, the punched coins, on which see Held *o c*, pp 257–64 The kārṣāpaṇas are in Held's opinion emblems with which the gambler staked his dignity, in a deeper sense himself", in like manner the special dice mentioned here might be considered emblems of the four gamblers (or the varṇas which they represent)

[23] The *govyaccha* is probably identical with the cow slaughterer in the ratnināṃ haviṃṣi (*govikarta-*) Cf KS 15 4 Macdonell Keith *VI*, II, p 335 Bhavasvāmin however renders it by *godhyakṣa*, supervisor of the cows

[24] Or he throws back the die that does not fit in , as the Dvaidhasūtra has it, the formula is then applied to the throwing back (*yenāsyānupapannaṃ syāt, taṃ tatrāpisṛjed diśo 'bhyayam rājābhud iti*) Apparently the DS refers to a game with marked dice

sacrificer receive different portions (*nanāmsin*), the sūta and the gramani have one portion in common (*samānāmsin-*), as have the kṣattṛ and the samgrahitṛ Now a dicing expert (*matakṣa iva*) seats himself on the seat of the king, pushes aside 104 dice with the words "The king has burst forth", and arranges them so that they are touching each other at the edges, saying "The brāhmana has made krta" (*kṛtaṃ brahmaṇasya*) Then (again) they proclaim (the portions of) the odana the brahman priest and the sacrificer get one portion in common, the sūta and the gramani receive different portions, as also the kṣattr and the samgrahitṛ In the house of the loser the kṣattṛ prepares the odana" [25]

Kātyāyana "He (the adhvaryu, who before has made the ājya offering on the dicing ground, or the aksavāpa?) throws the dice on the dicing ground, with the words "Consecrated with the svaha call, compete with the rays of the sun, in order that this king may be the centre of his kinsmen (*sajāta*)" Then he says "Play for (the parts of) the cow" He arranges the kṛta play for the king and the others He gives the losing combination (kali) to the kinsman (*sajata-*) (The acolytes of the adhvaryu) fetch a cow and beat her The two oxen that drew the car with the house fire of the sacrificer (to the north of the ahavanīya fire, at the time of the chariot drive) are to be given as dakṣinā

The texts deal only with the crucial moments of the game the episodes of the 104 dice and the 5 dice The intervening stages are probably passed over silently In general, however, we may conclude that the point of the game consisted in making certain numerical combinations, based on the numbers four and five, with unmarked dice For the understanding of the nature of this play with numbers Held, in his study of the Mahābhārata, has made useful remarks, where he stresses the relation between the four or five ayas or numerical combinations of the dice and the points of the compass [26] This relation is clearly borne out by the episode of the five dice [27] In another connection TS 4, 3, 3 classifying the points of the compass with the seasons, the deities, the stomas, the ayas etc, puts kṛta in relation with the eastern quarter, tretā with the southern quarter, dvāpara with the western quarter, āskanda with the northern quarter and abhibhū (or kali) with the zenith [28] Speaking about a series of four ayas

[25] According to Baudh the odana is not eaten by the gamblers, who have staked and won portions of it in the game but is given to the brahman (12,16 110 2)

[26] Held *o c*, p. 265 ff The term *aya-*, literally "the course", is the "course which the dice take along the points of the compass

[27] *Cf* ŚB 5 4 4 6

[28] *Cf* MS 2,7,20 KS 39 7 MS combines abhibhava with the northern quarter and

– kali, dvāpara, tretā and kṛta – the comm. on Hir. 3, 12 (p 321) declares that, when the division of the number of dice by four terminates, it is kṛta, while kali, dvāpara and tretā mean that there is a remainder of one, two or three dice respectively [28] Now, according to Held's attractive theory, the dice are segregated one by one to the points of the compass, following a circular motion from the north through west and south to the east, when one reckons with four ayas and compass points, or through the east to the centre (zenith) in the case of five ayas and compass points, and so on till all the dice are segregated Thus the expression "*kṛtaṃ vicinoti*" means "to finish at the segregation of the akṣas to the four points of the compass, at kṛta" (sc the east) [29] Perhaps this gives us also the proper perspective of Baudh 's prescript of putting the dice down in such a way that they touch each other at the edges the dice are probably arranged in a certain geometrical pattern according to the points of the compass Thus the purpose of the game seems to lie in separating a number of dice and in establishing in visible form the concordance of this number with the regions of the universe All seems to depend on the skill of the player in computing[31] at a glance the number of dice to be separated, taking at the same time into account the number of dice to be left for his adversaries [32]

The auspicious names (sumangalanamāni)

When the king has gained his victory in the game of dice,[33] he addresses three of the ratnins, the samgrahitr, the bhāgadugha and the kṣattṛ, with the auspicious names, respectively "O thou of good fame" (*suśloka*), "O thou of good auspices" (*sumangala*), 'O true king" (*satyarajan*)

āskanda with the zenith Abhibhu seems to be equivalent to the better known aya kali cf ŚB 5 4 4 6 and Lüders, *o c*, p 41

[28] Cf Lüders *o c*, p 54

[29] Caland, *art cit* takes *vicinoti* to mean separating dice from the stock. In the opinion of the present writer however, the separating from the stock is only the first phase of the game, to which verbs like *apachid-*, *avoh* , *niruh* are applied, *vicinoti* refers to the second phase, the segregation to the points of the compass, Thus, for instance, in the agnyādheya according to Mānava 104 dice are strewn on the dicing ground from which the adhvaryu takes 100 dice and hands them to the sacrificer, who then segregates them, ending up at kṛta (*kṛtaṃ vicinoti*, Mān ŚS 1,4 4,13)

[31] On the computing skill in the game of dice see Lüders, *o c* p 51

[32] It is also possible that the player strews back his dice or hands them to the next player who then has to try his luck (cf Hir 6,17 (p 530) *teṣu* sc. *akṣeṣu kṛtaṃ vijitya sabhāsadbhyaḥ prayacchati*) Doubtless there were several different ways to play the ritual game Thus Baudh 2 9 describes a much simpler game of dice (see Caland, *Abh f d K d M*, XII 1, p 17)

[33] The moment according to TS , TB , MS followed by Āp and H r Baudh as well as the WhYV connects this ceremony with the brahman proclamation

Baudh makes the thus addressed answer with Thou O king art of good fame \ etc

The TS gives three names (MS and KS do not mention them) but Baudh speaks of seven without however specifying them The WhYV gives as auspicious names much working better working more working (*bahukara sreyaskara bhuyaskāra*) It seems that Katy makes the brahman address the king with these names after he has the fifth time answered the king with thou art brahman According to the comm however it is the king who calls out in this way to one of his men

ANNOTATIONS

The unction enthronement and dicing rites seem to be closely linked up with each other

The unction in the rajasuya does not require the use of the throne on the other hand however the enthronement is in most cases associated with an unction in the agnicayana the vajapeya the sautramani the sacrificer is anointed while sitting on a chair (a throne) [34] as is also the case at the unctions described in the 8th book of the AB This seems to me to be the original state of things in the rajasuya In the course of development and elaboration probably two rites unction on a tiger skin and enthronement cum unction were united in the rajasuya The unction on a tiger skin being fixed at an earlier moment separated from the enthronement by the chariot drive made the unction at the enthronement superfluous The four apasravas still bear witness to the original state of things they will have been intended to carry away the powerful unction waters streaming down from the anointed Other facts to support the thesis of the original connection of the enthronement with the unction may be cited Thus the Śunahśepa legend recited for the enthroned king seems originally to be adjoined to the unction AB 7 18 11 explicitly states that the legend is recited to the anointed king and according to the WhYV the recitation is inserted after the unction the rites with the rest of the unction water at which the names of the king and the heir apparent are interchanged and which have their logical place after the unction are however according to the MS [35] performed at the end of the enthronement and dicing rites a four feet wide field is to be given to the brahman priest after the game of dice but AB 8 20 2

[34] Cf Āp ŚS 17 19 5 18 6 4 19 9 11

[35] MS 4 4 6 cf Vār ŚS 3,3 3,37 also Mānava Āp gives this moment as an alternative (18 19,9)

stipulates that such a gift be given to the priest who anoints the king 10 this way we can also account for Hir according to whom the unction may also be performed after the game viz when the king is enthroned The formula Varuṇa has set himself down in his dwelling places (*past)āsu* often explained as the waters Varuṇa s element) which formula is also used in the mahabhiṣeka,[36] when the king is seated on his throne on the point of being anointed in this light takes on its proper relief the king identified with Varuna sitting in the midst of the cosmic waters represented by the unction fluid

The association of the enthronement with the game of dice seems more than accidental when taking into account that the Varuna formula is also applied in the preparation of the d cing ground at the occasion of kind ling the fire in the assembly hall (*sabha*) [37] We may in my opinion even go further this formula is in the TS only recorded in the rajasūya chapter and its application to the sahha ritual seems rather hollow compared to its use in the enthronement The royal ritual seems to be the more original of the two It may be supposed that there was at the origin a block of royal rites enthronement unction and dicing to be performed in the assembly hall (or combined with rites in such a hall) which was built for the purpose and where a fire was kindled The royal dicing pavilion still shows a trace of its connection with the fire where the WhYV prescribes that the dicing ground and consequently the pavilion should communicate with the *purvagni* The term *purvāgni* is not quite clear[38] – the comm on Katy explains it as the first fire of the householder or the garhapatya – but it seems to me that it is originally the old fire which is to be renewed as well as cosmos and kingship at the turn of the year [39] this rite if my supposition is correct was superseded by the development of the a

[36] AB 8 13 t 18 t

[37] Āp 5 t9 2.

[38] For this term cf ŚB 13,2,2,3 TB 3 8,23 1 2, where the horniess he-goat for Agni, which is attached in front of the sacrific al horse in the aśvamedha is compared to the *purvāgni* Sāyaṇa ad TB explains it as the āhavanīya fire Cf also Baudh t8 8 350 7 18 16 361 8 t8 40 39t.5 where a fire called *purvāgni-* is connected with the rites on the first day of some savas It is meni oned together with the gārhapatya and (the fires in) the sacrificial hut in AV 5 31 5

[39] For the renewal of the fire, cf Oldenberg *R d V* 351 f H'llebrandt, *V M* 1 92. Also the above ist s for (Agn') Va śvānara and Varuṇa. Perhaps there is a relation between the chariot drive which has a renewing function and the *purvāgni* moved up to the north of the āha anīya fire and thus within the c rcle described by the chariot. This interpretat on of the *purvāgni* is not necessarily contrary to its be ng the house fire Cf e g. TS 5,2,4 1 deal ng with the un on of the old fire (*yaś ca purāgn ḥ*) with the (new) fire in the firepot at the agn cayana the old fire is in this case the gārhapatya fire the śrauta counterpart of the house fire

gnyādheya rites and became obsolete, leaving the term *purvagni* to be preserved as a fossil in the rajasuya [40]

The throne now claims attention In the mantras the throne is addressed as the navel and the womb of kingship [41] The words "you are soft, a pleasant seat", are also addressed to the vedi in the new and full moon sacrifices,[42] as is well known the vedi represents the womb of the sacrifice [43] The elements of the throne are identified with the elements of the ritual metres, sāmans, rc's, yajuṣ's, etc, while Prajapati, Bṛhaspati, Soma, and Varuna are the legs of the throne Not only the sacrifice, out of which the sacrificer is born as is often stated, lends its elements to form the throne, the whole cosmos is represented in it Thus the throne is the proper cosmic birthplace of the king [44]

The place of the throne birthplace on an elevation from which four gutters (*apasrava*) originate, has in my opinion a cosmological significance the throne represents the centre, the navel of the earth, from this navel originate the four streams dividing the world in four quadrants Though in the Vedic texts the number of the great world streams is mostly seven, mention is also made of four streams [45] The fact that the throne, according to Hir, is placed on an elevation suggests the idea of the central mountain, so prominent in Hindu cosmology and in the religions of greater India The throne combines the notions of the navel and birthplace of the world and the king with those of the central mountain [46]

In the symbolism of the throne enters yet another element The enthronement in the Vedic ritual is mostly combined with an unction, and in the rajasūya this has probably also been the case The throne is practically equivalent to Varuna's watery residence It may be considered

[40] This case may be cited as an instance of the development of the Vedic ritual through the extension and systematization of the royal rites In the course of this process the king was generalized into a common sacrificer and finally the royal rites were incorporated in the extended and elaborated Soma ritual, which itself represents a development from the royal ritual

[41] Cf TB 1,7,10 2, ŚB 5 4 4 3–4

[42] Hillebrandt *N V O*, p 55

[43] Cf Johansson, *Dhiṣaṇā* p 52

[44] For a similar conception of the throne in Egypt, where the throne was considered the ruler s mother cf H Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948) p 43f

[45] Cf RV 1,62 4 Lüders *Varuṇa* (Göttingen 1951) ch VII, also p. 335f Lüders opines "dass in der Vedischen Vorstellung von den vier Weltflüssen der Keim zu der merkwürdigen Dvīpa theorie des Mittelalters l egt" Cf also W Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn Leipzig 1920), pp 11f, 15ff

[46] The intimate connection of the throne with the central mountain and the axis mundi has been clearly demonstated by Miss J Auboyer (*Le Trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne*, Paris, 1949, pp 74–104) On the navel concept, cf Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, ch XI

the store and source of the waters, the life-giving fluid, brought to the earth by means of the four apasravas [47] It is the centre, from whence their circulation through the universe is put in motion at the time of the unction The cosmic rotation, which has its pivot in the throne and which was already met with before in the unction ritual will be seen also to be expressed by the rites centred round the throne

Sitting on the throne the king is proclaimed brahman in a dialogue with each of the four priests who sit round him at the four quarters In this ceremony the king is manifested as the power that pervades and connects the discontinuous universe He alternately disperses this brahman power to the four quarters when addressing each of the priests with "O brahman," and reabsorbs, reintegrates this power and thereby the whole universe (exemplified by the quarters and the gods connected with them) when the priests answer the king "thou art brahman" The king is the centre of the rhythmical flux and reflux of the cosmos [48] In other connections we met with similar ideas and observed there that they converge with the idea of birth This is also here the case In the WhYV , the king is proclaimed a fifth time by the brahman priest and after what has been said about the symbolism of numbers it may be clear that this fifth time bears out the notions of encompassing integrating the four dispersed brahman powers, the quarters the gods, his rise above them as well as his birth from them [49] He is, so to say, put together from the four quarters as the gods are said to bring together the embryo [50] The king is born as brahman in the centre, the zenith of the universe, from the dispersed brahman/ In this respect the reference to Vena in the first of the stanzas that, according to the WhYV , accompany the preparation of the dicing ground, does not seem to be without interest This verse and the whole of the hymn from which it is taken (RV 10, 123), identifies Soma with the sungod and describes the pressing of the Soma in solar terms or rather as the sun's rising, Vena is at once Soma and the seer inspired by the Soma The imagery of this hymn, speaking about the birth of Soma and the sun's rising, fits in well with the scene of the brahman proclamation The king

[47] This view of the throne is perfectly in keeping with the central mountain aspect The mountains in general are considered stores of water, sources of rain etc., for materials cf Gonda *Visnuism*, p 73ff

[48] The same idea is conveyed by the rite of the auspicious names

[49] At the fifth turn of the dialogue no god is mentioned as at the previous four turns Through this *anurukta* the brahman priest lays boundless power in the king as is asserted by ŚB 5,4 4,13 This assertion falls in line with the idea of encompassing the whole

[50] AV 1 11 2

to if not identical with the cosmogonical cow Viraj who by stepping out five times established the five fires and then went up in the sky to become the constellation Rohini [71] In the AV [72] Viraj is extolled as a creative principle and a universal mother goddess having Indra as her calf RV 10 90 5 makes her the daughter of Puruṣa who again is born from her ChUp 4 3 8 equates this Viraj with the pooled stakes in the game which are won by the kṛta combination The odana which substitutes the cow is connected with similar ideas By preparing an odana and eating the remainder of it Aditi became pregnant and gave birth to the Adityas [73] it is identified with the semen [74] also with Prajapati [75] In the AV it is extolled as the way leading to heaven penetrating the two hemispheres of the universe [76] (cp Viraj ascending to the sky) The gamesters have each a share in these *important life-giving cosmological entities* the shares they stake in the game The sacrificer by becoming the *abhibhu* by bursting forth wins and unites all the shares for himself according to the rule that the highest aya wins the stakes of the lower ayas [77] The passage of the ChUp cited above speaks of the ten parts of the stake that is won by the krta combination and puts them in relation to the five macrocosmic powers wind fire sun moon water and the five powers of the human *microcosmos* breath voice eye ear thought Thus the winner of kṛta unites and integrates the totality of the universe [78] The king as the pivotal agency absorbing and releasing the universe can also be recognized in the dicing game as prescribed in Kaus. s account of the unction [79] In the game he wins all the property from his subjects Then ensues a dialogue with a vaisya asking for the restitution of the subjects property In his answer the king grants the restitution successively to the brahmins the kṣatriyas and the vaisyas adding May the law rule in my country This addition seems the keynote of the ceremony the king as the pivot of universal flux and reflux emits the cosmic order

Now it is a peculiar trait that except in so far as he is presented with the five dice the king seems to take no part in the game at least according

[71] *TB. 1 1 10*
[72] AV 8 9–10 Cf J Gonda *Viṣṇu sm* p 67f 187
[73] TS 6 5 6 1 AV 11 1 1
[74] TB 3 8 2 4 ŚB 13 1 1 4
[75] TB 3 8,2 3 3 9 1 8 2 ŚB 13 3 5 7
[76] AV 11 1 20 12 3 5
[77] Cf Luders *o c* p 61
[78] We may connect these two series of five powers expressing the totality of the universe with the classification system based on the number five already noted when dealing with the five dice
[79] Kaus 17 17 19

to the MS , where only the four representatives of the varṇas engage in the game This fact suggests to me the interpretation that the real stake of the game is the king himself It is the king himself who is to be "won", produced by the gambling, he is the regulating and connecting principle of the quinquepartite universe, the embodiment of the cosmic order that ' bursts forth" from the dice [80]

Summarizing this short investigation it may be concluded that in the enthronement-dicing game complex the king is born in the centre of the universe, binding together its dispersed elements in his person and regulating their alternating centrifugal and centripetal rotation

A few words need still be said about the beating of the king This ceremony is enjoined only by the WhYV , where it is, however, treated rather summarily The mantra, which may, as an alternative to a silent performance, accompany the beating, is only recorded by Kāty ; the ŚB mentions only the silent beating and concisely states that the rite is intended to lead the king "beyond the being beaten" [81] Elsewhere beating is well known in fertility rites to stimulate the productive powers[82] or as a "rite de passage"[83] or in driving out maleficent demons [84] All of these interpretations fit in the same scheme at the critical moments in the life of the individual as well as of the group, e g at the turn of the year the productive powers must be stimulated, renewed, a new birth takes place and the maleficent demons – corresponding as has been seen before with the embryonic covers – must be driven off In this light the beating of the king, who is about to be born at the turn of the year, becomes clear [85]

[80] If I understand well Baudh 's text the shares proclaimed at the the two turns of the game amount to nine Perhaps we may interpret this number as implying an unexpressed tenth produced out of the nine and integrating tetum. This tenth then might be the king himself produced out of the cosmogonical odana, which is later on served to the brahman priest the king is born out of the nine shares, which are subsequently disposed of, viz placed back, in the womb of kingship the brahman

[81] Weber considers the ceremony characteristic of the priestly supremacy and consequently of later origin, but leaves also the possibility open that it is eine gute, alte, volksthümliche Sitte' akin to the ' Ritterschlag ' He also mentions in this connection the beating of the bridegroom (cf *Ind Stud* V, 300)

[82] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IX, 272 in rainmaking I, 257ff, Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p 72 *Aberglauben*, VII, 1107ff , J J Meyer, *Trilogie*, Index s.v schlagen on beating in the Lupercalia, Warde-Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p 54 479

[83] *Aberglauben*, VII 1107ff , v d Leeuw, *La Religion*, p 190

[84] Frazer, *o c* , IX 259ff

[85] Cf the beating of the king by the chief priest of Marduk at the Babylonian New Year festival, H Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948) p 320 Cf also the beating of the king of May in German folklore (W Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I, pp 354, 365f , *Mythologische Forschungen*, p 14f)

The king seated in the womb of royalty (the throne) with the five dice, which on account of their counter sun wise movement are suggestive of death, in his hand is clearly in a dubious situation. At this critical moment his safe birth is furthered by beating him with wooden sticks. The *pāpman-*, correlating with the covers of the embryo, is beaten away and he is led beyond death, as the mantra says.

XVIII

RECITATION OF THE ŚUNAHŚEPA LEGEND [1]

TB 1,7,10 6, AB 7,13–18,
Baudh 12,15–16 t09 10–110 1, Āp 18 t9,t0–14, Hir 13,6,35–38, Kāty 15,6,t–7,
Āśv 9,4 9–16, Śāṅkh 15,t7–27,
Weber 52f., 107f., 120f., 128

After the enthronement and the connected rites have been performed the legend is recited, which relates the miraculous release of the brahmin Śunahśepa from the sacrificial post, to which he was already tied in order to be immolated, and king Hariścandra's simultaneous release from Varuṇa's bonds Baudh specifies that the legend is to be recited in the interval after the game of dice – the calling of the auspicious names has already taken place before the game – when the odana is being cooked by the kṣatṛ in the house of the loser [2] The legend is recited by the hotṛ, while the adhvaryu makes the "answers"[3] *om* after an ṛc stanza and *tathā* after a gāthā (stanza not belonging to the saṃhitas)

In the text of the legend more than a hundred, or more than a thousand according to Āp 1, 19, 10, ṛc stanzas and gathas are said to be assembled [4] A version of a thousand or more ṛc stanzas and gathas, however, is not known Perhaps Āp points to a possibility to extend the number by such artifices as are usual in the technique of the śastra

[1] The legend is recorded in AB 7,13–18 and Śāṅkh 15,17–27 For the sake of brevity I refer to the translations of this legend R Roth *Indische Studien*, I, 457ff., II 112ff., F Streiter, *De Sunahsepo* (Berlin 186t), W H Robinson, *The golden legend of India* (London, 1911), A B Keith, "The Ṛg Veda Brahmaṇas", *HOS*, 25, pp. 299 ff

[2] According to Kāty the recitation is inserted in the unction Mānava places it after the libations connected with the unharnessing of the horses, which according to his version follow the enthronement, before the game of dice.

[3] *pratigara-*, interjection made by the adhvaryu in the pauses of the śastra, cf e g CH no 152 Baudh. mentions four types of answers *oṃ hotar*, *tathā hotar*, *satyaṃ hotar*, *arātsma hotar*, but gives no details about their use

[4] There are 97 ṛcs and 31 gāthās. The ṛcs are those of the cycle traditionally ascribed to Śunaḥśepa, RV 1,24–30 As to the number, cf AB 7,18,10, where the Śunaḥśepa legend is said to contain *parārkṣatagātha* this expression is doubtful, one would expect *rkgāthaśatapara-* Sāyaṇa explains the expression as "containing, beside 100 ṛcs, (31) gāthas."

relation Viewed in this light the rājasūya and the legend appear to have their object in common and their connection becomes quite natural.

Some remarks may still be useful for the understanding of the sacrifice imposed on king Hariścandra and its relation to the royal ritual Hariścandra was a childless king, which is almost a contradictio in terminis or at least synonymous with a serious hampering of the course of the universe "He alone is king, who propagates offspring", as the ŚB says [12] In this predicament Varuṇa intervenes by granting Hariścandra a son Natural birth alone is, according to a current doctrine of the ritual texts, not enough, it must be followed up by the birth out of the sacrifice, out of brahman [14] In another connection it is stated that the rājanya is born fettered, the fetters must be removed by the ritual of a certain iṣṭi [15] In my opinion this removal of the ties with which the rājanya is fettered at birth amounts to a second birth These ties have their correspondence in the legend in the illness – illness is often represented in the form of ties [15] – with which Hariścandra is cursed by Varuṇa and which is put on a par with the fetters binding Śunaḥśepa to the sacrificial post the illness is cured at the very same moment that Śunaḥśepa's fetters fall off [17] Now when Śunaḥśepa's fetters fall off, he is in reality reborn as may be seen from the fact that he takes another name, enters another clan Thus Hariścandra and Śunaḥśepa are ritually reborn through the sacrifice, through the brahman power extant in the ṛc stanzas recited by Śunaḥsepa [18] Against this background it becomes clear why a brahmin should act as the sacrificial victim he represents the brahman sacrifice out of which the sacrificer is reborn [19] This conception of the sacrificial victim seems to me

[12] ŚB 9 4 1 5

[14] ŚB 3 2 1 40 JB I 259 JUB 3 14 8 Cf also MS 3 6 7 68 16

[15] TS 2 4 13 KS 11 4 148 5–10 MS 2, 1,12 13 18–14 7 Cf Caland, *Wunschopfer*, no 96

[15] Cf AV 2 33 and its ritual application, Kauś. 27,27 From the mantra TS 3 1 4k it appears that the noose with which the victim is bound is conceived of as a bond tying the sacrificer himself

[17] In this connection it may be worthwhile to note an allusion to the sunrise – the macrocosmic correspondence of birth – in the story the last devatā, to which Ś addresses himself is Uṣas the goddess associated with dawn it is this invocation which makes the fetters fall off The invocation of Uṣas is preceded by one of the Aśvins, also associated with sunrise and one of Indra who is connected with the sun. Miss Silburn (*Instant et Cause* pp 23 n 4 29–30) recognizes in Ś "un personnage solaire bound to the cosmic tree and prevented from rising

[18] It is perhaps not without interest that that the legend is referred to as brahman according to Mānava the hotṛ being about to begin the recitation calls upon the a dhvaryu *adhvaryo brahma vadāma* (cf *brahmodya-*)

[19] Cp the brahman as the womb of kingship an idea observed already in other connections

to be clearly demonstrated by the myth of Manu, the prototype of the sacrificer, immolating his own wife [20] through this sacrifice he propagates himself, the wife being the womb of rebirth of the husband [21]

In the last resort it is, however, not the brahmin, who is immolated, but the sacrificer *himself*[22] who is in the case of Hariścandra doubled by his son and the brahmin Śunaḥśepa He himself must pass through death in order to be reborn Out of himself he is reborn *atma hi jajña atmanaḥ*, as Narada teaches Perhaps Hariscandra's belly inflated by Varuna may be considered as an image of Hariscandra's being pregnant with his own rebirth His belly diminishes to normal proportions at the moment of the sacrificial rebirth, when Śunahsepa's fetters fall off The idea of the re birth of the sacrificer out of himself is not in opposition to the idea of rebirth out of brahman sacrifice The equation of the sacrificer with the sacrifice is well established,[23] Prajapati, the first sacrificer, is at the same time the sacrificial victim while he is also interchangeable with brahman [24] Moreover the king is as seen above, proclaimed a brahman as is also the common sacrificer in the dikṣa In the legend the two aspects of the ritual birth are expressed simultaneously Thus we may view Śunahśepa, and in a larger sense the brahman as that part of the sacrificer s own personality from which he is reborn out of himself [25]

The legend, when recited actualizes in its own way the same reality as the ritual in which it is incorporated and it may even be asked if the legend was not from the outset bound up with the sphere of the royal rites

[20] For the myth v S Lévi *Doctrine* p 119ff

[21] This may become clear from the context in which the myth is referred to in TS 6 6 6 there it is mentioned in connection with an animal offering to Tvaṣṭṛ "with the wives (the patnivatapaśu) clearly intended to promote offspring the offering is for Tvaṣṭṛ Tvaṣṭṛ of the seed that is spilled moulds the forms Cf also the sacrifice of the sutavaśa cow conceived of as Indra s mother (chapter End of the Unction festival)

[22] For the sacrificer as sacrificial victim cf KB 7 3 TĀ 5,2,2 PB 4 9 20–21 (In general cf v d Leeuw *La Religion* p 349f)

[23] Cf ŚB 13,2 2 1 AB 1 28 30

[24] Cf Dumézil *o c* p 91

[25] For the brahman as half the self half the body of the sacrificer cf AB. 7,26 4 This approaches Prof Dumézil s theory of the origins of the brahmin caste The brahmán would originally have been the substitute of the king to be immolated at the royal sacrifice The present writer for one doubts however if the practice of killing the old king is at the root of the royal ritual as already pointed out. The relat on brahman king or brahman-sacrificer may rather be resumed as the wife husband relat on Their close alliance reflects the androgynic primal being whose two aspects give birth to each other Prajāpati engenders Viraj who again gives birth to Prajāpati in the ritual the king sacrificer is born out of himself as brahman on the other side the brahman is the womb of the king sacrificer

XIX

DAKṢINĀS

At the unction festival there are two sets of dakṣiṇās, those which are due for the Soma sacrifice and those connected with the specific royal rites, inserted in the Soma paradigma. The first are given before the inserted block of royal rites at the prescribed moment,[1] the others directly after or during it.

First we will deal with the 'paradigmatical' dakṣiṇās and, following the example of several sutra authors, at the same time survey the number of dakṣiṇā cows prescribed for all seven Soma festivals of the rajasūya. For all these festivals taken together Āp., Hir. and Śankh. prescribe a hundred thousand cows, Āp. and Śankh. mention as an alternative ten thousand cows.[2] Āp. further mentions the opinion of an unidentified authority of the *Rgveda* ritual prescribing a number of three hundred and sixty thousand.[3] Kāty. prescribes a thousand cows for the first Soma day (the pavitra) and a hundred thousand for the unction festival, as he does not mention the number of cows given on the other Soma days this number was possibly meant for the whole rajasuya.

In the following table the apportioning of the dakṣiṇās over the Soma days is recorded.[4]

	Āp.	Baudh.	Kāty.	Lāty.	Gaut.	Dhanañj.
pavitra	*5000 or 1000*	*1000*	*1000*	*112*	1000	1000
abhiṣecanīya	30000 or 4000	1000	100 000	240 000	4000	5000
daśapeya	30000 or 1000	1000	—	—	—	—
keśavapanīya	10000 or 1000	1000	—	1000	2000	2000
vyuṣṭi dvirātra	20000 or 2000	(2000)	—	1000	2000	2000
kṣatrasya dhṛti	5000 or 1000	1000	—	112	1000	1000

[1] Cf. CH. no. 191.

[2] Cf. Āp. 18.8.2.5–6. Hir. 1.3.3.6. Śaṅkh. 15.16.16.19. Ten thousand is also the opinion of Gautama cited by Lāty. 9.3.14–16.

[3] *ṣaṣṭi trīṇi śatā i sahasrāṇi*; cf. Caland's note ad Āp. 18.8.7.

[4] Cf. Āp. 18.8.4–6. Baudh. 1.2. pp. 85.4. 103.12. 110.6. 111.12. 115.4. 117.13. 118.5.

Baudh adds to the dakṣina for the unction festival gold, garments, horses and cows, elephants and slaves [5]

To the second set of dakṣinas belong, according to Baudh, the chariots that performed the chariot drive and which, together with other gifts, are made over after the recitation of the Śunahśepa legend [6] It is stipulated that the adhvaryu receives the chariot of the sacrificer Besides Baudh has a hundred country carts (*vipatha*) given to each of the four chief priests Further he prescribes to distribute among the priests the thousand cows that were captured during the chariot raid [7]

A field "of four padas" is given to the brahman priest (BlYV) [8] The ratnins who have been addressed with the auspicious names have to look on at the giving of the field (Āp Hir) The golden dice used in the dicing game are given to the adhvaryu, while the odana which formed the stake in the game of dice, goes to the brahman priest (Baudh) Another dakṣinā connected with the game of dice are the two oxen wich drew the cart with the *purvagni* to the north of the ahavaniya hearth at the time of the chariot drive, it is to be given directly after the dicing game (WhYV) [9] The gold worked seats, used by the adhvaryu and the hotr when reciting the Śunahśepa legend are given to them (Aśv Bl and WhYV) Katy

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Kāty 15,1 5 4 51 Laty 9 1 9 13 the two columns following Lāty represent the samavedin authorities Gautama and Dhanamjayya cited Laty 9 3 14–16 Hir has the hundred thousand cows parcelled out equally over the Soma days Baudh does not mention the number for the vyuṣṭi as he prescribes everywhere a thousand cows we may assume that for this two day rite the number is two thousand Katy and Lāty do not prescribe a number of cows for the daśapeya probably on account of its forming a technical unity with the unction festival so that the paradigmatical dakṣinas need only to be given once The special dakṣinas mentioned in the description of the daśapeya are probably related only to the non paradigmatical drinking ceremony

[5] Baudh 12 7 95 15 ff These extra dakṣinas are made ready when the horses are put to the chariots the elephants are harnessed in the seams of the garments golden ornaments are fixed and they are wrapped up in packs

[6] Before at the moment normally prescribed for the dakṣinās they are given in mind only (12 7 96 4)

[7] Cf Laty 9 1 18 20 prescribing that one third of the property taken from the weak relatives of the king should be given to the priests one third to those who take part in the daśapeya drinking ceremony one third should be returned to the relatives Cf also Vādhūla fragm 66

[8] *Catuṣpat* (or *pat*) *kṣetra pād* or *pad* seems to be a certain measure Baudh s comm Bhavasvamin renders it by *nivartana* = 20 rods The comm s on Āp and Hir however take it to mean a field and four draught oxen The same expression is used AB 8 20 2 for the dakṣina destined for the priest who performed the unction Sāyana there explains it as land and cattle this explanation seems less probable as cows have just before been mentioned in the AB as another unction dakṣinā MS 4 p 57 15 mentions the field only without any measure

[9] On the *purvāgni* see Annotations Enthronement and Yoking Offerings This dakṣina is taken over by Āp who however mentions the *pūrvāgni* nowhere else

adds to this gift a hundred or a thousand cows for each of them The brahman priest receives the amulets which the king has put on after the chariot drive (Bl and WhYV)[10] The silver and golden plaques, used in the unction ceremony go to the adhvaryu (Āp, Hir, Vārāha)

ANNOTATIONS

The number thousand of the dakṣinā cows seems by far the most normal, as a glance at the table given above may show. In some instances, however, probably as a result of the growth of the royal pomp and pageant and of the development of the ritual in general, excessive numbers were drawn up I do not think, as Weber does (e g p 132) that these numbers were inspired by 'priesterliche Habsucht' and that they document the alleged supremacy of the brahmins over the king Without going further into the nature and significance of the dakṣinā giving, I would like to point to the fact that quantity and quality of the dakṣinā is related to the purpose of the sacrifice[11] Therefore lame cattle – a not too alluring gift for the alleged priestly greed – are prescribed for a magic rite intended to hurt an enemy[12] In the case of the rajasūya and especially in that of the unction festival, which represents cosmic rebirth and universal regeneration, we can readily understand that they have a counterpart in excessively heavy dakṣinas A number like three hundred and sixty thousand, mentioned by Āp, seems to fit the purpose on account of its being equal to the number of days of the year it establishes the equality of the dakṣinā with a cosmological entity, the full time cycle The number ten thousand recommends itself on account of its name, *ayuta* the king gives an *ayuta* in order not to be separated (*yu*) from the realm and the people,[13] that is he secures the continuity through this gift

Suffice it to state that the dakṣiṇa system is governed rather by cosmological speculations connected with the ritual, than by greed "pur et simple' Sociologically speaking it belongs to the sphere of the gift exchange system, analyzed by Mauss, the spirit of which is "characteristic of societies which have passed the phase of 'total prestation" (between clan and clan, family and family), but have not yet reached the stage of

[10] According to Āp the king wears the amulets till after the iḍā and sviṣṭakṛt rites for the Marut cake and the āmikṣā of the Visve Devaḥ According to TB 1 7 9 5 they seem to be given immediately after the relevant rite as is also the case in the WhYV

[11] Cf e g. ŚB 13 1 5 6

[12] Cf ṢaḍvB 3 8,23f Āp 22 4,24

[13] Cf Śaṅkh 15 16 17

pure individual contract, the money market, sale proper, fixed price and weighed and coined money'.[14]

The integration of the royal rites – unction, chariot drive, enthronement, game of dice, recitation of the Śunaḥśepa legend – in the Soma paradigma occasioned a doubling of the dakṣina giving. The royal rites brought with them their own dakṣinās. AB 8, 20, 2 prescribes gold, a thousand cows and a *catuspat kṣetra*[15] to be given to the anointing priest in the independent unction rite. The thousand cows dakṣinā seems to have been fused with the "paradigmatical" Soma dakṣinā, but, at least in Baudh.'s version, it has retained its connection with the royal rites: the thousand cows are those captured at the time of the chariot drive, led away along the "path of the dakṣinās" and then properly distributed after the conclusion of the royal rites. At the moment reserved in the Soma paradigma for the dakṣinā giving also cows are given (*go'asvam*, 12, 7, 96, 3), but no number is mentioned, the number thousand of the cows mentioned later on by Baudh. (p. 111, 12) must therefore refer to the captured cows.[16] In my opinion we may even go further and observe a clear connection between the raid on the thousand cows and the dakṣina giving ceremony in the normal Soma sacrifice. The raid takes place, according to Lāṭy. 9, 1, 15, at the moment reserved for the dakṣina giving, while part of the captured goods are given to the priests. Baudh. though placing the raiding chariot drive later on, has the chariots made ready at the dakṣina giving time. On the other hand the rites for giving the dakṣinas: the sacrificer's encircling them, going up into their midst and touching them,[17] suggest that the dakṣina giving and the raid are closely akin. It seems to me that the dakṣina giving rites and the royal raid have their origin in common, or rather, that the dakṣina rites developed out of the raid. This would present another instance of the development of the Soma ritual out of the ancient royal rites, such as can be observed in the case of the dikṣa-unction complex.

[14] M. Mauss, *The Gift* (transl. by I. Cunnison) (London 1954), p. 45. The dakṣina was never conceived of as a salary or fee: cf. J. Gonda, *Lingua* S. I (1955), pp. 67–75. Interesting is also Mauss's conclusion that in giving gifts a man gives himself – himself and his possessions –, and he does so because he owes himself to others. A similar idea is explicitly voiced in the mantras for handing over dakṣinās, where it is said that the sacrificer buys himself loose from the priest (cf. Āp. 13, 6, 4).

[15] Cf. Kauś. 17, 10, where a thousand cows and a village are prescribed for the unction ceremony described there.

[16] The pompous list of elephants, garments, cows, horses and slaves was probably taken over from the vājapeya in order that the sacrificer might not appear empty-handed at the dakṣina giving (cf. Baudh. 11, 6).

[17] Cf. *CH*, p. 291.

The *catuṣpāt kṣetra* needs an explanatory note Though landed property (a village) as a dakṣiṇā for the anointing priest is also attested by Kauś 17 10 the case under consideration seems a special one There are the rather unimpressive dimensions and the strange prescription that the bearers of the auspicious names should look on at the giving These features I would like to explain though positive evidence is lacking, by interpreting the gift of this field as the rudiment of an agrarian fertility rite in which Kṣetrapati the lord (or husband) of the field or his relative Vastoṣpati was the central figure [18] It is said that through this gift (the sacrificer) gets a firm stand in the field [19] about the same is said of him who worships Kṣetrapati he gets a firm stand on the earth [20] If I may endeavour to go further into the hypothesis I would like to suggest that the original ceremony was possibly a royal ploughing rite Such a rite would readily explain the attentive presence required from the ratnins The field given would then have been the plot worked by the king at the ceremony [21] This special plot which as to its dimensions seems rather insignificant has probably also another connection with the king. We may compare it with the piece of ground on which a new house is built and which is sacred to Vastoṣpati this piece of ground is addressed as follows 'Thou art the gods share on this (earth) from here have sprung the fathers who have passed away [22] On the other hand there is the fact that in Northern India the tumulus of the ancestor of the village or tribe is the sanctuary of Kṣetrapala [23] With the Coorgs in Southern India the family fields are divided into several plots each having its own name the main plot however bears the name of the family and in this plot the umbilical cord of the eldest son is buried [24] If we may interpret the *catuṣpat kṣetra* in this light it reveals itself as what might be styled the birthground of the royal lineage from which it is again and again reborn and perpetuated and which after having been worked by the king is entrusted to the brahman priest who on account of his being the representative of the brahman power the womb of royalty is well qualified to take care of it

[18] On Kṣetrapati and Vāstoṣpati, cf Macdonell *V M* p 138
[19] MS 4 4 6 p 57 15
[20] TS 2,2 1,5 KS 9 17 121 6 MS 2,1 1 2 3
[21] In the gṛhya ritual Kṣetrapati is honoured at the time of ploughing, cf ĀśvGS 2, 10 4 ŚāṅkhGS 4 13 5 For a survey of royal ploughing ceremonies in India and Greater India, cf H G Quaritch Wales *Siamese State Ceremonies* (London, 1931) p 256ff
[22] ŚāṅkhGS 3 2 2
[23] W Crooke *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* I pp 105–107
[24] M Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs* (Oxford, 1952) p 229

XX

END OF THE UNCTION FESTIVAL

TS 1,8,16-1, TB 1,7,10,6, MS 2,6,13 72 8, 4,4,7 58 1–3, 4,4,3 52 14f , KS 15,8.216 3, ŚB 5,5 5
Baudh 12,16 111 6-10, Āp 18,20,3-6, Hir 13,6,42-47, Katy 15,7,29-34

The Soma ritual of the unction festival, resumed after the inserted royal rites, winds through the normal Soma paradigma till it reaches the concluding rites – the final bath, the sacrifice of a barren cow and the breaking-up iṣṭi [1] The first two rites are modified, in the BIYV, the third receives a special form in the WhYV

a The final bath

At the final bath[1]the paraphernalia of the dikṣita and his wife (antelope skin, antelope horn, clothes) are normally committed to the water [2] In this case, according to Baudh , the sandals of boar skin, worn by the king since the chariot drive, are also committed to the water When coming out of the bath the king puts on other shoes (Baudh) [3]

The clothes left in the water of the final bath are in the normal Soma sacrifice replaced by the garments in which the Soma was wrapped In the case of the unction festival the WhYV prescribes that he should come out of the bath with one of the unction garments

Later on at the time of the breaking up iṣṭi he should give this and the other unction garments to the adhvaryu, exactly as the ordinary Soma sacrificer should give the Soma garments

✓ As to the final bath itself, it is prescribed by Śānkh and Lāṭy [4] that it should not be fully performed the king only dips the right forefoot of the black antelope hide, the fringe of his (dikṣita) garment, or the antelope horn in the water [5]

[1] Cf CH nos 254 256 259
[2] Cf CH no 254f g
[3] *Carmapakṣyav upānahau*, probably shoes with leather sides (not soles) are meant Lāṭy 9,1,24, giving the same prescript, says that the sacrificer leaves the avabhṛtha with shoes of antelope skin
[4] Śaṅkh 15 13,14–15 Laṭy 9,23–24
[5] For these items of the dikṣita apparel, cf CH no 17a d.f

The return from the avabhṛtha is in the BlYV. marked by three ghee libations, offered on the way back, to resp Apāṃ Napāt (Son of the Waters), Ūrjo Napāt (Son of nourishing strength) and Agni Gṛhapati (Agni the Lord of the House) The first libation is made in the water where the avabhrtha has taken place, with the mantra "To Apāṃ Napāt, svahā" Half way between the place of the final hath and the sacrificial compound the second libation is made on a hunch of darbha grass, on an anthill or on a dry tree trunk, with "To Ūrjo Napāt, svāhā". When they have returned the third libation is made in the gārhapatya fire, with "To Agni Lord of the House, svahā"

b The sacrifice of the barren cow

The barren cow (*vasa*), which according to the normal paradigma is sacrificed in honour of Mitra and Varuna, is in this case assigned by the Maitrāyaṇiyas, followed by Āp and Hir, to Indra As to the preparation and offering of the cake, which normally forms part of the animal sacrifice, it is prescribed, that the material for it – wild rice (*nivara*) in this case – should not be taken down from a cart as usual,[6] but from a wicker-work basket[7]

Normally the sacrificer has his hair cut and his beard shaven after the offering of the omentum of the anubandhya cow, but here Baudh forbids this[8]

c The breaking up iṣṭi

This iṣṭi performed after breaking up from the place of sacrifice,[9] is according to the WhYV a *traidhataviya* (having three layers, elements) iṣṭi It consists of the offering of a cake, baked on 12 potsherds, to Indra and Viṣṇu The cake is formed by three layers, two of rice and the middle one of barley[10] For this iṣṭi the WhYV prescribes three dakṣinas gold,

[6] Cf Hillebrandt, *NVO* p 22

[7] *Sinā-* Āp s comm considers this to be a wooden bench used in cutting meat For the use of a *pātri* which may denote a vessel of any description instead of the havis cart cf Hillebrandt *NVO* p 26

[8] For the interdiction of hair-cutting see also the description of the daśapeya

[9] Cf CH no 259

[10] The fact that there are two sorts of havis, rice and barley for one cake necessitates a special procedure Katy s comm prescribes that at the taking out of the havis from the cart (cf *NVO* p 22) first a handful (a certain measure) of rice is taken then two handfuls, consisting each of one part of rice and two parts of barley and then again a handful of rice Cf Baudh s description of the traidhataviyā (13 41–42) he prescribes to take four handfuls of rice then four handfuls of barley and then again four handfuls of rice In both ways a ratio of one to two is realized The point at issue is the solution

cows and garments, each of them three in number, to be given respectively to the brahman, the hotṛ and the adhvaryu

ANNOTATIONS

a The final bath

The final bath by means of which the participants purify themselves and dispose of the leavings of the sacrifice – the pressed out Soma plants, the black antelope skin, the dikṣita garments – marks not only the end of the Soma day, but also the end of the whole foregoing year "whatever sin he has committed in the year before, verily that thereby he propitiates".[11] Thus the avabhṛtha has at the same time the meaning of death[12] and of new birth[13] The danger of this critical moment is enhanced by the fact that the daśapeya festival, following ten days after the unction festival and connected in its technical aspect and in its meaning with the unction festival, is in danger of being cut off by the caesura of the avabhṛtha The three libations, offered on the way back, restore the shaken continuity, as the MS argues They do so – it seems to me – by stressing the birth aspect of the return to the sacrificial compound They mark the gradual rise from the waters, which represent death as well as rebirth, to the earth represented by the gārhapatya fire[14]

Now I shall try to show that the three places where the libations are made, the water, the bunch of darbha grass (anthill or dry tree trunk) and the gārhapatya, are considered so many wombs, from which fire is generated, and with the fire the sacrificer whose life is intimately bound up with the sacrificial fire[15] The waters as the womb from which the fire

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of the problem how the simultaneous processing of the two sorts of raw material, which must be kept apart, should be done without doubling each phase (taking out, husking pounding), which would only be possible if there were two sets of offerings How this is done for the taking out, has just been seen The solution indicated by Baudh for the other acts seems to be to have the acts performed 'sacrally' by the adhvaryu for the rice only, while the barley is held up at it (in order that the effect of the sacred act extends also over the barley), the barley is then processed profanely only (Cf Baudh 12,41 148 19 *teṣāṃ vrihiṣv eva haviṣkṛtam udvādayaty, upodyacchante yavān*) For further particulars on this rṣṭi, cf Caland *WO*, no 178

[11] Cf TS 6,6 3,1 It is to be remembered that the Soma sacrifice is to take place annually in spring, marking the turn of the year (cf CH no 1)

[12] Cf ChUp 3,17,5 Therefore the participants return from the avabhṛtha without looking back, "to separate themselves from Varuṇa" (TS 6 6 3 5 TB 1,6,5,6)

[13] Cf MS 3 6,7 68 18 ŚB 4,4,5,1 It is the same ambiguity met with before in the unction

[14] For the equation garhapatya-earth, cf e g ŚB 2,3,4,36, 7,1,1 6

[15] To this effect, cf e g. the śamarohana rite and the rite, wherein the householder and his fire exchange their names (ŚaṅkhGS 5,1,1, ĀpŚS 6 24 7 26 4)

(*Apaṃ Napat*, son of the waters) is born, are well known [16] As to the darbha grass, it may be remembered that the fire[17] is also considered the embryo of the plants, of which darbha grass is a representative [18] The anthill as a womb has already been met with in another connection The tree trunk is possibly motivated by the consideration that trees are considered the abode of the embryo [19] The garhapatya easily inscribes itself in this triad of wombs [20] By means of this triad of libations, which may also be considered as equivalent to the covers of the embryo left behind or rather placed back in the womb when the sacrificer reborn in the avabhrtha returns to earth the thread of life is restored and the continuity in time (the passing of the critical phase of the year's turning) as well as in space (the sacrificer again gets a *firm* stand *in* the three worlds as TB has it) is re-established

b The sacrifice of the barren cow

This sacrifice for Indra must originally have been connected with the unction itself This is evidenced by MS which deals with it when explaining the unction apparel of the king When Indra was born the *tarpya garment* was his womb *the pandara garment* the *amnion* and the uṣnisa turban his umbilical cord he was born from the *sutavaśa* (a cow barren after having borne one calf) the wickerwork basket was her udder, the wild rice the biestings, therefore the cake is prepared from wild rice * [21] In the somasava – a royal inauguration on the lines of the rajasuya but without Soma days – the sacrifice of a sutavaśa is actually performed concurrently with the unction and forms its frame [22] We may

[16] Cf Macdonell *VM* p 69f

[17] Ūrjo Napāt is considered by Mādhava ad TS 1 8 16 (BI p 170) the fire of digestion in the stomach

[18] Cf RV 3 1 13 ŚB 7 2,3 2 ŞadvB 4 1 12 (also W B Bollée *Şaḍ iṣṭa Brāhmaṇa* (Thesis Utrecht, 1956) p 94)

[19] Cf ŚB 4 5,2,13 A tree trunk is also mentioned together with a tree reed and an anthill as places, where the remainders of the cakes offered to Rudra Tryambaka are to be left when returning from the place of worship of Rudra to the sacrificial compound (*cf* Āp 8 18 8–9 ŚB 2,6 2,17)

[20] Cf TB 1 4 7 4 ŚB 7 1 1 8 8 6 3 8 The gārhapatya is entrusted with the care of offspring when the pater familias sets out on a journey (Āp 6,24,3.26 1)

[21] MS 4 4 3 52.12–15 Indra's birth from a vaśā cow also TS 6 1 3 6 AV 12,4,33 states that the vaśā cow is the mother of the rājanya, this being the reason why a vaśā cow should be given to the brahman priest. In passing it may be noted that in this AV passage again we come across the idea of the womb embryonic cover placed back in the womb (the brahman)

[22] Cf TB 2,7 4 Āp 22,25 9–13 Baudh. 18,5 Also at the vaiśyasava the unction is performed concurrently with the immolation of a cow *for the* Maruts (Āp. 22,25 4–5)

therefore safely assume that the sutavaśa sacrifice for Indra was originally meant to be the frame for the unction This gives us a view of the history of the royal ritual Whereas Varuna is the presiding deity of the rajasūya at large – the rajasūya is also styled Varuṇa sava – and of the unction and enthronement in particular, Indra is paramount in the present unction sacrifice, as he is also in the unctions dealt with in the AB Apparently two traditions met and mixed in the rājasūya In the process Indra, however, got the worst of it and the sacrifice in his honour was relegated to the outskirts of the festival, in which originally he was entitled to occupy the central place Moreover in the somasava, where the sutavaśa sacrifice was preserved in its original function it is not Indra to whom it was dedicated, but Soma

The framing of the unction in the sacrifice of the sūtavaśa cow is interesting in that it demonstrates the interrelation of sacrifice and birth The conception underlying the sacrifice of the sutavaśā is clearly that in being immolated she gives birth to Indra, c q the king What is meant, when the brahmana texts speak of the ' birth out of sacrifice ' is put here in concrete terms The birth is simultaneously figured in an impressive manner by the unction ceremony [23]

c The breaking up iṣṭi

The three-layered iṣṭi, like the three libations on the return from the avabhṛtha seems to be specially intended to secure the continuity at this critical moment For this reason probably we find it with Baudh at the end of the whole rajasuya, together with the devika havimsi which have a *similar function and also at the end of other savas aśvamedha somasava,* and prthiṣava [24] Originally the traidhatavıya was also in the WhYV placed at the end of the whole rājasuya and not at the end of the unction festival, as is shown by ŚB where it is treated at the end of the rajasuya portion It is interesting that the ŚB states that it is the proper ceremony for breaking up *after a sacrificial session of a year s or longer duration* [25]

This iṣṭi is based on the number three and is thereby connected by the

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The slaughtering of a cow at the unction is also mentioned by Kauś 17 27 but there it is a point of dispute

[23] The ŚB *bases the embedding of the unction in the Soma sacrifice and the iṣṭis immediately surrounding the unct on on a similar consideration (cf* ŚB. 5 3 5 1 5 1 4 2 5 4 4,24)

[24] Cf Baudh 15 38 244 6 18 5 347 13 18 6 348 18 Āp has the traidhatavıya at the beginning and at the end of the asvamedha (Āp 20 8 4 23 5) Śāṅkh 15 16 2 has the traidhātavıya for the breaking up iṣṭi at the hair-cutting Soma festival

[25] ŚB 5 5 5 13

brāhmana authors with the three worlds, the three Vedas,[26] while the last sāmidhenī stanza refers to the three strengths (*vājina-*) and to the three abodes of Agnī.[27] The meaning of the number three in this context is made perfectly clear by the ŚB. Indra, after having with Viṣnu's help established himself in the three worlds, overcame Vṛtra and took from him "the womb, the belly" (*yonir āśayah*); this became the traidhātavīyā iṣṭi. From this womb the sacrifice, exhausted after the year-long offering, is reproduced, made fit again. The sacrificer also, exhausted by his gift of a thousand cows is restored through it.[28] Or in the words of TS. 2, 4, 11, 4: "Prajāpati created cattle, he created them with the three-layered iṣṭi; he who knowing thus sacrifices, desirous of cattle, with the three-layered iṣṭi, creates cattle from the very womb, whence Prajāpati created them". Thus this iṣṭi effects, like the three libations on the return from the avabhrtha, a reproduction from the three-fold womb and thereby restores the continuity.

[26] Cf resp TS 2,4,11,5, ŚB 5,5,5,9.
[27] Cf TS 2,4,11,2.
[28] Cf ŚB 5,5,5,6 10 12

Taittirīyakas			Sequence according to		
god	offering	dakṣiṇā	MS/KS	WhYV	Śāṅkh
1 Agni	cake on 8 potsherds	gold (or a piece of gold with 8 protuberances *aṣṭāprd* MS)	1 Savitṛ	Savitṛ	Savitṛ Prasavitṛ
2 Sarasvatī	caru	young cow	2 Sarasvatī	Sarasvatī	Savitṛ Āsavitṛ
3 Savitṛ	cake on 12 potsh (8p, KS MS, WhYV)	speckled ox (or reddish ox *śyeta*, MS KS)	3 Puṣan	Tvaṣṭṛ	Savitṛ Satyaprasava
4 Puṣan	caru	black ox	4 Bṛhaspati	Pūṣan	Sarasvatī
5 Bṛhaspati	caru	white-backed ox	5 Indra	Indra	Tvaṣṭṛ
6 Indra	cake on 11 potsh	bull	6 Varuṇa	Bṛhaspati	Pūṣan
7 Varuṇa	cake on 10 potsh (of barley, KS MS) (caru of barley WhYV)	great castrated ox (of reddish brown colour *babhru* MS KS)	7 Tvaṣṭṛ	Varuṇa	Indra
8 Soma	caru	reddish brown ox	8 Agni	Agni	Bṛhaspati
9 Tvaṣṭṛ	cake on 8 (or 10, WhYV) potsh	ox of short stature (or of white colour?, *śunṭha*) (with a deformation on the shoulder? *aṃse pāṭiśunṭha*, or an ox with long ears *adhiruḍhakarṇa*, MS)	9 Soma	Soma	Soma
10 Viṣṇu	cake on 3 potsh	dwarf ox	10 Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu	Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa

saṃsṛps, as Baudh , on the day of the unction festival and, having no contraction, ends up on the tenth day with the daśapeya [6]

The last three saṃsṛps are performed during the three upasad days The gods of these three saṃsṛps are – except with the Taittiriyakas – the same as the gods of the upasad iṣṭis, to wit Agni, Soma and Viṣnu These saṃsṛps are performed respectively before the morning upasad, between the morning and evening upasad and after the evening upasad before the āhavanīya fire is moved to the uttaravedi [7] According to the WhYV the three last are performed after both upasad iṣṭis on all three days In the WhYV moreover the last three saṃsṛps may replace the upasad iṣṭis[8] or, inversely, the saṃsṛps may be replaced by the upasads [9]

The saṃsṛps not only bridge the lapse of time between the unction festival and the daśapeya but also connect the two festivals in space The first seven saṃsṛps are performed each on a separate place of sacrifice The seven places of sacrifice form so many stations on the way to the sacrificial compound, where the daśapeya is to take place and which is situated, according to the WhYV , to the north of the unction site [10] According to Āp and Hir [11] the place of sacrifice is shifted at each iṣṭi to the east in such a way, that the āhavanīya hearth of the preceding day accommodates on the following day the gārhapatya fire and the eighth iṣṭi takes place on the site of the dasapeya Baudh enjoins that the fire hut for the dasapeya should be erected beforehand at a distance of seven śamyā throws, each time one moves one śamya throw in the direction of the daśapeya site [12]

[6] Cf ŚB 5 4,5 5

[7] I e before CH no 52 between CH nos 62 and 68 (acc to Hir s paddhati directly after the recitation of the subrahmaṇya formula CH no 63) after CH no 76 before the āhavanīya fire is moved to the uttaravedi CH no 79 (Baudh 12, p 113 1)

[8] Cf Katy 15 8 15 ŚB 5 4 5 15–17 mentions but rejects this view

[9] A similar opinion seems to obtain also for the BlYV in so far as Varāha 3 3 4 5 speaks of only seven saṃsṛps and Āp 18 20 7 of ten or seven iṣṭis The origin of this opinion lies, as far as the BlYV is concerned, probably with the Kāṭhakas KS mentions no dakṣiṇās for the last three saṃsṛps showing in this way that they are included in and perhaps identical with the upasad iṣṭis In this same line lies the prescript perhaps also originating with the Kāṭhakas that the three sticks which are put down to enclose the fire on the south east and west side *paridhi*) and the darbha grass on the vedi (*barhis* , *prastara*) are the same for both the saṃsṛp iṣṭis and the upasad iṣṭis. Seven saṃsṛps is also the opinion of Āsv s comm (ad 9 3 7)

[10] Cf also Śāṅkh 15,14,12 there however the saṃsṛps are offered on the site of the daśapeya

[11] Also Vāraha 3 3 4 7 and Śaṅkī cf Baudh 22 20 144 8

[12] As it is generally forbidden to leave to the east of a sacrificial compound room enough for another place of sacrifice (cf CH no 9 ṢaḍvB 2 10 12) there can be no

seventh place Now Varuna, the deity presiding – as the prototype of the king – over the unction, is said to have lost his strength (*indriya- virya-*, *TB* , *bhargas-*, *ŚB*), which fell asunder in ten parts by the action of the unction waters, by means of the samsrp offerings he gradually recovered his strength It might therefore have been expected for Varuna to occupy the tenth place in the list as the concluding and encompassing last element [16] The number seven, however, is often found in connection with Varuṇa Varuna reigns over the seven streams,[17] he contains in himself the three earths and the three heavens and thereby as Bergaigne argues is himself the seventh element [18] In this connection we may recall the cosmological conception of the seven worlds[19] and other groups of seven entities, which express totality, perfection, such as the seven steps in the marriage ritual [20] The seven steps are also interesting in that they show a close resemblance to the seven stations marking the way "upwards" (to the north, *uttaratah*) to the dasapeya site In this way the number seven and Varuna's seventh place can be easily explained It is, however, not to be inferred from these considerations, that here we have two opposing traditions It can be shown that the system based on the number seven links up with the decempartite system in a natural way When dealing with the indraturiya, for instance, it has been seen that Indra occupied the third instead of the fourth place, expressing the idea of the embryo protected by the embryonic covers The samsrps seem to present an analogous case when Varuna occupies the seventh place, he seems to be situated in the midst of three covers which consist each of three parts The tripartite heaven and the tripartite earth, over which Varuna is said to reign – divisions of space and time correspond to embryonic covers – can quite naturally have been supplemented with a third tripartite world, as in general the conception of three worlds is often to be met with Viewed in this way not the number seven but the number nine, in the midst of which a tenth is eocased *is essential here*

Now the numbers nine and ten are used to express the totality of man man is said to consist of nine vital forces (*prana*), while the navel is the

[16] In the list of Śaṅkh Varuna is not mentioned instead of Varuṇa we find there Indra in his place Indra and Varuṇa whose interrelation is still to be investigated often alternate in Vedic mythology

[17] RV 8 69 12 8 41 9

[18] RV 7 87 5 Cf also Bergaigne *R V* II p 128 Mhbh 5 110 4 says that the moon is born at the beginning of the light half of the month by drinking the six saps of Varuṇa

[19] Cf e g Luders, *Varuna* p 64

[20] Cf Gonda *Viṣṇuism* p 59 Seven is not only used for denoting the totality of the universe in terms of space but also in terms of time i e generations, cf Th Zachariae, Sieben mahl auf d e Welt kommen , *Kl Schriften* (Bonn Leipzig 1920), p 33–41

XXII

DAŚAPEYA

TS 1,8,18, TB 1,8,2, MS 4,4,8–9(60 7), KS 15,10 216 20, VS 10,30, ŚB 5,4,5,18–23 Baudh 12,17–18, Āp 18,20,11–21,7, Hir 13,7,2–16, Katy 15,8,8–30

The unction festival is followed up after a ten days interval, during which the saṃsṛp iṣṭis are performed, by the third Soma festival, the daśapeya This latter festival, according to Āp and Hir, closes the "unction year" [1]

Dikṣa and upasad rites

The introduction for the daśapeya – the usual dīkṣā and upasad days – is embedded in the preceding samsrp days It even seems as though the original preparation for the daśapeya is the samsrp iṣṭis, while the usual dīksā and upasad rites were added only later on in order to comply with the general Soma paradigma which has been normalized for all Soma sacrifices This feature is well illustrated by the fact that in the WhYV the whole of the dikṣā is substituted by a wreath of twelve lotus flowers – golden or natural ones – which the sacrificer hangs round his neck These lotus flowers are part of the samsrp iṣṭis as they are at the same time used

[1] *Cf* Āp *18,12,1*, Hir *13,5,1* *According to Hir's comm*, however, *the unction* festival is to take place not before the full moon in the middle of the month Taiṣa but after it, viz in the first half of the following month (Magha), in this scheme the daśa peya was probably to be performed on the full moon day in the middle of Magha *Katy's view seems to be the day of the new moon marking the end of the month* Phalguoa Vait, who does not connect the daśapeya and the unction festival by means of the samsrps – the saṃsrps here taking the place of the caturmasya sacrifices – places the unction in the month *Magha and the daśapeya a mooth later, in Phalguna All these dates fall in the months connected with the passing of the year* Baudh, however, seems clearly to place the daśapeya in the period of the beginning of the oew year With him the critical months for the turn of the year are everywhere Phālguna and Caitra Consequently he has the unction performed on the day of the new moon at the end of Caitra or Vaisakha, 13 months after the beginning of the rajasuya – as seen earlier the 13-mooths year is of common occurrence as the expression of the full year The daśapeya then follows to the first half of the next mooth (Vaiśakha or Jyaiṣtha)

as dakṣinas at each of these iṣṭis [2] The upasad iṣṭis may – according to Katy , though ŚB 5, 4, 5, 17 refutes this view – be omitted, the gods to whom these iṣṭis are dedicated being the same as those of the last three saṃsṛp iṣṭis [3] The rites connected with the Soma purchase – the distinct ive trait of the first upasad day – are in the version of the WhYV only partly performed The Soma for the daśapeya has already been purchased together with the Soma destined for the unction Soma festival, wrapped up separately it has been stored in the house of the brahman priest after the procession rite,[4] it is taken out on the seventh saṃsṛp day (the first upasad day) and only the rites of the guest reception for king Soma[5] are performed Technically speaking this means that both festivals have their framework (*tantra*) in common [6]

In the BlYV both festivals are treated as separate units, the daśapeya having its own dikṣa and upasad rites [7] Here only part of the dikṣa, viz. the apsu dikṣa[8], is left out and substituted by the wreath of twelve lotuses [9]

The Soma purchase takes place according to the BlYV on the same day as the reduced dikṣa viz in the afternoon of the seventh saṃsṛp day after the seventh samsṛp iṣṭi has been performed in the morning [10] The

[1] According to JB 2 200 the lotus wreath is put oo directly after the final bath of the unct on festival Perhaps we may assume that this is also the intention of the WhYV the s tuation would in that case be much clearer if it was assumed that the sacrificer puts on the wreath before the saṃsṛps and gives at each iṣṭi one of its lotuses thus after each iṣṭi d m nishing his dīkṣa apparel.

[2] The Baudhayaniya Śālīki lays down that the upasad iṣṭis are to be performed, but without mantras (Baudh 22,20 145 2)

[3] Cf CH nb 35–38

[4] Cf CH no 39–44

[5] This technical question is d scussed Kāty 15 8 10–13 Cf also Śaṅkh ŚS 15 13 1 2, who even goes further stating that all the introductory acts up to and including the guest reception of Soma and the concluding rites to begin with the avabhṛtha are per formed only once for both sacrifices, resp before the unct on festival and after the daśapeya.

[6] Cf the techn cal d scuss on by Mādhava ad TS. 1 8 18 (Bl p 183)

[7] Cf CH no 14

[8] According to Hir the lotuses are twelve or six in number JB. 2,200 discusses the numbers 12,7 6 5 4 and 3 but decides for a wreath of twelve lotuses

[9] Nevertheless Āp 18 20 18 though he recognizes the rule la d down already in the TS that the d kṣā and the Soma purchase take place on the same day states that there is one d kṣa day and three upasad days. This discrepancy can be explained away by assuming that the Soma purchase is separated from the rites of the first upasad day and added to those of the d kṣā day Cf however the paddhati on Hir 13 7 2 7 (p 187) where it is made clear that not only the Soma purchase but the whole of the rites of the first upasad day are performed on the same day From Baudh.'s description the same may be inferred A more probable solut on can in my op nion be reached when we ascribe Āp s one d kṣā and three upasad days to interpolation or borrowing.

price for the separately purchased Soma is ten bull calfs [11] According to Āp and Hir , who probably have borrowed this rule from the WhYV , the Soma has already been purchased together with the Soma needed for the unction festival For this reason the purchasing rites are reduced to driving away the ten bull calfs from the mother cows

At the daśapeya the hotr must belong to the lineage of the ṛṣi Bhṛgu [12]

The vasatīvarī water, which is to be used in the preparation of the Soma sap and which is drawn on the last upasad day before sunset, should in the case of the daśapeya be water from the river Sarasvatī Baudh stipulates that it is to be drawn together with the Sarasvatī water needed for the unction and stored till this moment [13]

The Soma day

The daśapeya is of the agniṣṭoma type, the basic paradigma of all Soma sacrifices As to the part of the chanters it is prescribed that for the third pṛṣṭha laud the śrayantīya saman[14] should be used and for the yajnaya jñiya laud the varavantīya saman [15] Further it is stated that the daśapeya is *saptadaśastoma* , i e the lauds are each made up of seventeen verses (or the number of the verses used is brought up to this number by artificial means)

In the hotr ritual it is laid down that two additional Rgveda stanzas in

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The tendency of carrying through the g neral Soma paradigma for all Soma sacrifices may have intervened here as one dīkṣa and three upasad days are the rule for the agniṣṭoma type. Cf also comm ad Āśv 9 3 7 who holds that the dasapeya is preceded by one dīkṣa and three upasad days

[11] There is a general rule that at the Soma festivals of the rajasuya the price of the Soma is 200 cows (Āp 10 26 8 9) Baudh s dvaidhasutra seems to allude to this rule where it states that besides the price mentioned above the usual (200) cows are to be given according to Baudh himself but according to Śalīkī only these (ten bull calfs) (Baudh 22 20 144 17 cf also ib p 142 5)

[12] According to most schools (TS 1 8 18 MS 4 3 9 49 6 JB 2 202 PB 18 9 2) the Bhārgava hotṛ officiates only in the daśapeya and must therefore be separately installed before the daśapeya with the usual ritual (CH no 4–7) *According to Śāṅkh ŚS 15 12,2 (Āśv does not mention the Bhargava hotṛ)* the Bhargava hotṛ officiates in all sacrifices of the rajasuya and must be installed before the first Soma day (the pavitra) Divergence on this point between Baudhāyana and Śalīkī is noted Baudh 22 20 145 5 Katy who takes the unction festival and the daśapeya as a technical unity has the Bhārgava hotṛ installed before the former

[13] Baudh 12 8 98 10 For the vasatīvarī water CH no 108

[14] Cf CH no 207 The śrayantīya saman is sung on SV 2 669–670 (= RV 8 99 3–4) beginning with the words *śrāyanta iva sūryam* The mode of chanting is gramageya gāna 7,2 5

[15] *Cf CH no 241 The vāravantīya sāman is sung on* SV 2 984–86 *beginning with the words aśvam na tvā vāravantam* (RV 1 27 1) The mode of chanting is grāmageya gana 1,1 30

which the Navagvas are mentioned are recited at the beginning of the niṣkevalya and the marutvatīya śastras respectively [16]

Conjointly with the animal sacrifice of a he goat for Agni which sacrifice winds itself through the three services of the Soma day a he goat for Prajapati is to be sacrificed (Baudh) [17]

The drinking of the Soma

The chief interest of this festival lies in the drinking of the Soma by a hundred brahmins each group of ten brahmins shares in one of ten Soma goblets This rite seems technically speaking to be just a modification of the prasthita bhakṣana ceremony which takes plaee during each of the three services of the Soma day [18] In this rite ten goblets are used one of whieh is for the use of the sacrificer and the others for nine of the priests These ten personages are called *camasin* (in possession of a *camasa* or goblet) [19] From these goblets libations are made first [20] then the camasins (and the adhvaryu and pratiprasthatṛ who though having no goblet of their own are entitled to drink from the goblets of the camasins on the ground that they are actively engaged in the pressing and offering of the Soma) drink from their own and from each other s goblets according to an intricate ritual In the case of the daśapeya however the camasins who here seem to drink only from their own goblets – are joined by other brahmins called anuprasarpakas [21] in order that from each of the ten

[16] Āśv 9 3 22 For the śastras, v CH nos 200 and 196 The Navagva stanzas are RV 5 29 12 and 3 39 5 The Navagvas and the related Daśagvas are a group of n ne or ten de t es of a non figurat ve nature generally assoc ated w th Indra In the present context t is worthwh le to note that they are also styled our (anc ent) fathers (Macdonell, *V M* p 144 H llebrandt *V M* I p 34) The word Navagva s declared by Yâska (N rukta 11 19) as go ng in a company of n ne by Berga gne (*Rel g on Ved que* II p 145) hav ng n ne cows we may also render it as I would prefer by winning n ne cows

For the savan ya animal sacrifice v CH nos 141 185 226 246 252 For techn cal deta ls of ts performance as a double an mal sacrifice v Dumont *Aś an edl a* p 319 The express on *s ve dhāman* used by Baudh (12 18 114 15) in his descript on of th s double an mal sacrifice s not fully clear W th Dumont *o c l c* I take t to mean at the prescribed moment i e the moment reserved for the savanıya sacrifice n the normal agn ṣtoma In contrad st nct on to Baudh Śāṅk op nes that the he-goat for Agn should be om tted and the hornless he-goat for Prajāpat only be sacrificed (Baudh 22,20 145 3)

[17] Cf CH nos 147d 189 230

[18] Cf CH pp 3 and 216

[19] Cf CH no 146b d

[20] In the normal form of the agn ṣtoma prasarpakas are ment oned but the r identity and function are rather vague. They seem to be mere spectators (cf Āp 11 9 8) According to Āp 13 6 6–7 they are awarded dakṣ ṇā g fts.

goblets ten brahmins may drink the Soma.[22] Āp. and Hir. do not take this ceremony as a modification of the prasthita-bhaksana, but insert it as a separate rite directly after it, prescribing ten extra goblets to be used for the drinking of the hundred brahmins.

As stated above, the yajamāna is one of the camasins, but being a kṣatriya he is generally excluded from the Soma drink.[23] In the normal paradigma his goblet is therefore filled with a substitute for the Soma prepared from pulverized nyagrodha shoots mixed with sour milk.[24] The difficulty is aggravated by his sharing his goblet with nine brahmins, the number of ten co-sharers at each goblet implying, according to Kāty.'s reasoning, that they belong to the same jāti. Kāty. after having raised the possible solution that the yajamāna should be joined by nine other ksatriyas, rejects this possibility in favour of the yajamāna's total exclusion: only the hundred brahmins partake of the Soma.[25] Lāty. 9, 2, 4 solves the problem by prescribing that the sacrificer drinks from his goblet solitarily. Baudh and Śālikī are at variance whether the sacrificer is the hundredth or the hundred-and-first of the Soma drinkers, thus giving positive evidence for the yajamāna's partaking of the Soma.[26]

The ancestor test

In order to be qualified for the Soma drink the anuprasarpakas must be

[22] According to the specification in Baudh.'s Karmanta (26,2 273 1) seven additional anuprasarpakas share in the goblet of the hotṛ and in that of the udgatṛ, the other camasins are joined each by nine anuprasarpakas. The three priests drinking from the hotṛ camasa are, besides the hotṛ himself, probably the adhvaryu and the pratiprasthātṛ (cf. Baudh. 7,15 224 15), while the camasa of the udgatṛ is joined by two other chanters, the prastotṛ and the pratihartṛ, who, though not being camasins, drink also in the normal agniṣṭoma from this goblet (cf. CH p. 219). According to Lāty. 9,2,3, however, all four chanters, including the subrahmanya who normally seems to be excluded (cf. CH p. 216), share in the goblet of the udgātṛ.

[23] Cf. AB 7,28.

[24] Cf. AB 7,30–34, Āp. 12,24,5, Kāty. 10,9,30–32.

[25] Weber supposes that Kāty.'s discussion bears only on the question whether the yajamāna's co-sharers should be rājanyas or brahmins, but in point of fact the question at issue is whether the yajamāna partakes of the Soma or is excluded from it. Kāty. decides for his exclusion. Cf. also Madhava's discussion ad TS 1,8,18 (BI p. 184), closely resembling the reasoning developed by Kāty., where the same conclusion is reached at.

[26] Baudh. 22,20 145 8. In Śālikī's case we have perhaps to assume that there are 11 goblets, as is also possible in the normal paradigma (cf. CH no. 3). For Lāty. we may suppose the same. This eleventh cup was then destined for the sacrificer only, without inconvenience as to the numerical dispositions. Cf. Sāyaṇa ad PB 18,9,4. *yajamānacamasavyatiriktā daśasaṃkhyakā atra somacamasāḥ syuḥ*. There is no positive evidence that the yajamāna's goblet was filled with the nyagrodha beverage or another substitute.

able to enumerate ten Soma drinking ancestors in uninterrupted succession [27] This test is part of the ceremonial procession (*sarpaṇa-*) to the sadas *before* the prasthita-*homa* [28]

Instead of enumerating ten Soma drinking ancestors the anuprasarpakas may, according to the WhYV, recite VS 10, 30 in which the saṃsṛp gods are invoked "by Savitṛ the Instigator, by Sarasvatī the Voice, by Tvaṣṭṛ with the forms, by Pūṣan with the cattle, by Indra (who is) with us,[29] by Bṛhaspati with the brahman, by Varuna with the power (*ojas-*), by Agni with the brilliance, by Soma the king, by Viṣṇu the tenth deity I move up (to the sadas)". According to Śāṅkh 15, 14, 6–7 the genealogical requirements which the anuprasarpakas must meet are maintained, but the saṃsṛp gods are invoked also by the participants when they move up to the sadas or when they partake of the Soma This invocation replaces in Śānkh 's version the saṃsṛp iṣṭis

Baudh 's divergent but highly interesting presentation of the ancestor test will be quoted in full "After the offering of the omentums of the two savana animals, they move to the sadas for the morning service At the east door of the sadas the suta and the gramanī are standing, at its west door the kṣattṛ and the saṃgrahitṛ They ask those who want to enter "who is your mother, who is your grandmother" He, who succeeds in naming them down to the tenth generation, they admit But he who does not succeed in doing so they repulse with a long bamboo cane He, who answers ' my mother is a vaiśya woman" or ' Savitṛi (is my mother)" they admit, considering that the vaiśyas (*viś-*) are the protectors of marriage "[30]

Dakṣinas

The extensive list of the dakṣiṇās is given below according to the TS , as will be seen the other schools differ only insignificantly

[27] According to Āśv , Śāṅkh and Lāṭy this requirement is extended over both the paternal and the maternal ancestry Baudh 's version is only interested in the matrilineal line

[28] CH no 142

[29] '*Indreṇa asme*' clearly refers, in my opinion, to the sacrificer, who *is often identified* with Indra. Cf Śāṅkh. 15,14 4, where in the list of saṃsṛp gods we read '*Indrāya asmai* , for Indra for this one (an iṣṭi is performed)

[30] Caland (ad Āp 18 21 5) suggests that the name Sāvitrī refers to the famous Sāvitrī formula. This formula, when taught to the novice on the third day of the upanayana ceremony, marks the novice s (spiritual) rebirth as the son of his brahmin guru (cf Oldenberg *R d V*, p 466ff) Perhaps the anuprasarpaka by referring to the Sāvitrī, which is considered the 'mother of the Vedas' (Gop B 1,1,39) and claiming her to be his mother showed that he had a 'birthright to the Vedic ritual

For the adhvaryu (and the pratiprasthātṛ, PB, JB)	two (golden, WhYV) mirrors (two *pravepa* ?, MS)
udgatṛ	a (golden, WhYV) lotus wreath
prastotṛ, pratihartṛ	a horse (a horse and a milch cow resp, MS, BP)
brahman	12 four year old (pregnant, MS, WhYV, PB) cows
maitrāvaruṇa	sterile cow (*vaśa*)
brahmanācchaṃsin	a bull
nestṛ	garments (a draught ox, MS)
potṛ	garments
acchāvāka	a wagon drawn by one ox laden with barley
agnīdhra	a draught ox (cow, WhYV)
the PB adds to this list [31]	
subrahmaṇya	a he goat
unnetṛ	a heifer
gravastut	a three year old bull

No Hair cutting

In view of the hair cutting Soma festival the sacrificer should not have his hair cut, as is usually done at the end of a Soma sacrifice [32] Katy further prescribes that afterwards the sacrificer should during the following year (till the hair cutting festival), not tread upon the earth, during the rest of his lifetime he should never do so without having shoes on [33]

[31] Āp and Hir give these dakṣiṇās also but instead of the paṣṭhauhi for the unnetṛ they have a *vehāyamānā* cow (a cow that miscarries a barren cow or a cow striving after the bull (?)) Caland supposes that the three additional dakṣiṇās in Āp and Hir are borrowed from a still unknown Kāṭhaka source The same may hold good for the PB, the author of which seems to have been well acquainted with the Kāṭhakas and (or) the Maitrāyaṇīyas (cf W Caland *Pañcav iṃśa Brāhmana* p xxi) It is not made clear if to these dakṣiṇās the usual cows are to be added For divergence on this point cf the opposed opinions of Baudhayana and Śalīki (Baudh 12 18 115 4 22 20 145 11)

[32] CH no 256 Baudh specifies that after the unction neither the beard nor the hair of the head is to be cut then after the daśapeya only the beard is shaved but the hair of the head is left intact (cf also Lāṭy 9 2 21)

[33] Compare this latter rule with the putting on of shoes of boar skin after the chariot drive These shoes are according to Lāṭy 9 1 24 changed for shoes of antilope skin when the sacrificer comes out of the final bath after the unction festival For further observances during the year between daśapeya and keśavapaniya see below chapter Keśavapaniya

ANNOTATIONS

When dealing with the saṃsṛp ṛṣṭis I tried to show that they represent the months of the year the completion of which is sealed by the daśapeya festival In this connection see the twelve dikṣa lotuses which are put on a par with the twelve months as previously pointed out there are twelve lotuses the year (has) twelve months having reached the year he obtains it [34] The brahmana texts provide much further evidence for the daśapeya s relation with obtaining completion of the year the (daśapeya) sacrifice is an agniṣṭoma the agniṣṭoma is the year by means of the agniṣṭoma they encompassed them and put them in themselves again [35] The twelve pregnant cows given as dakṣina to the brahman priest are also put in relation to the months and the year [36] while the total number of the dakṣiṇas twelve or thirteen in the WhYV is considered a further link with the year [37] The number seventeen of the verses composing the lauds is another means of marking this relation they represent twelve months and five seasons [38] The MS makes a statement to the same effect when it teaches that the daśapeya is a *utsannayajna* and that the *utsannayajna* is obtained out of the year [39] i e after completion of the year The obtaining of the year refers not only to the year which ten days before has been fulfilled but in the first place to the year as a cosmological ent ty the full time cycle which again and again is to be put in mot on by obta n ng the year one masters the whole of time or to put it in the words of PB 18 9 7 in the year are contained the past and the future he (the priest) makes him (the sacrificer) prosper in regard to the past and the future The same idea seems to be expressed by the g ft of twelve pregnant cows which are said to represent the months of the year The calves to which they will give birth seem an adequate symbol for the twelve months of the new year contained in embryonic form in the old year The brahmaṇa texts view these cows under another but easily to be

[34] MS 4 4 7 58 t9 cf ŚB 5 4 5 14 JB 2 200

[35] JB 2 202 t s not made clear what exactly is encompassed but the passage ref rs to the d s ntegration result ng from the unct on for wh ch see below It is qu te con ce vable that the months are meant

[36] PB t8 9 2t ŚB 5 4 5 20–21

[37] ŚB 5 4 5 23

[38] PB t8 9 5 cf also 6 2 2 10 t 7 ŚB 6 2,2 8

[39] MS 4 4 7 58 14–15 The term *utsan a ajna* means accord ng to Ke th *ZDMG* 66 p 729 an extended elaborate sacrif ce In this case I am inclined to interpret it as pass ng a certa n t m t e of the year nd cat ng that the period n wh ch the daśa peya is performed, s a supplement to the completed year Cf also MS 4 p.58 l stating that whereas the preced ng unct on fest val is equal to the year (for t marks the end of the year) the daśapeya would be cut off from the year but for the special arrangements at the avabhṛtha

connected angle (having given birth to their calves) they will become milch cows they will give twelve sorts of milk these he (the priest) brings into him (the sacrificer) *i e* the king will be *full of sap* prosperous in the new year [40]

The Manes seem to play a great part in the daśapeya. Their enumeration may be substituted by the invocation of the saṃsṛp gods (WhYV) and from Śankh it appears that the moving up to the sadas or the drinking of the Soma is performed *in honour of* these gods We are therefore entitled to assume that the enumeration of the Fathers implies that the Soma is drunk in their honour also It is to be noted in this connection that the turning period of the year to which the daśapeya is intimately related has also a special significance for the cult of the Manes I refer to the astaka celebrations in the months Taisa Magha and Phalguna the ekastaka in the month Mâgha [41] Now the Manes are not only concerned with the past and with the other world but as is well known are actively engaged in promoting the continuation of their lineage and are asked to procure male progeny [42] The enumeration or as I would like to put it the invocation of the ten generations of Soma drinking forefathers is therefore quite in line with the idea noted above at the moment when the year is rounded off and closed the continuity must be secured the year virtually contains the past and the future as the PB has it and this quality must be activated by means of the ritual In this line of thought some importance must also be attached to the invocation of the Navagvas divine beings whose name means having or winning nine cows They are styled *our (ancient) fathers* and help Indra in winning the cows of the Panis Particularly interesting here is that we are told that they sung praises with the pressing stones during ten months and this song of praise is said to win back the sun from the waters a feat easily comparable to the situation under discussion not only on account of the months (cf the ten saṃsṛps) but specially in view of the winning back of the sun which has gone under in the waters just as the king and his prototype Varuna do in *the unction water* [43]

When dealing with the unction festival we observed that the turning of the year is marked by the rebirth of the cosmos and of the king who in

[40] MS 4 4 9.59 12 PB 18 9 21 cf also ŚB 5 4 5,20–21

[41] Cf H Ilebrandt, *Ritualli t* p 94f W Caland *Alt nd sche Ahnenkult* (Le den 1893) p 167 For the ekāṣṭakā as the turn of the year TS 7 4 8 1 2 Macdonell Ke th *V I* II p 157

[42] Cf e g. Āp ŚS t 9 12.10 11 Oldenberg *Rd V* p 332. For the int mate relat on of the Manes with fert l ty in general, cf Eliade *Traité* p 300f

[43] RV 5 45 7 11

corporates the cosmos The moment of the cosmic rebirth, however, is ambivalent the year is completed, the universe is fully integrated, "the embryo has been brought together from the regions of space", but at this very moment of the greatest concentration disintegration sets in, the new year must again be pieced together from its elements,[41] Varuna and the king again fall into ten parts It is as though the protecting shell, which encompasses the universe, is completed and at the same moment broken up This idea seems to me to be eloquently expressed in the comparison of the rajasuya or the unction with Indra's killing of Vṛtra [45] ' Vṛtra's variegated forms went to the earth, the stars went to the sky Through the shining of the stars (or in the space between heaven and earth) the lotus springs up In that he fastens on himself a wreath of lotuses, he fastens on himself that manifestation of Vṛtra, royalty "[46] In this way the encompassing quality inherent in Vṛtra is again restored and localized in the king sacrificer by means of the dikṣa lotuses [47]

Safeguarding the wholeness of the powers accumulated in the completed year against disintegration is probably also the purpose of the use of the varavantiya sāman in the yajñayajniya laud PB 5, 3, 12 states that the performers of the year long gavam ayana sacrifice use it in the mahā vrata festival at the end of the year, for the vāravantiya is cattle, cattle is a means of quenching (or bringing to rest, *śanti*), from the year that has been quieted (or come to rest *śanta*) they thereby rise" Now the varavantiya saman on account of its pseudo etymological association with the root *vṛ* to cover, encompass, is also used in the yajñāyajñiya laud as an expiation when the Soma trough bursts and the sacrifice is thus in danger of trickling away ', the varavantiya then "covers up the fissure in the sacrifice' [48] I think, that, besides the incidental identification with cattle, the notion of covering up the fissure" must be kept in mind to explain the varavantiya's use at the end of the gavam ayana year the forces accumulated in the completed year are at the beginning of the new year in danger of disintegration, in case of uncontrolled dispersion, ' trickling away ', these forces would become evil powers By means of the varavantiya, however, the year is made *śanta*, come to rest, sealed

[41] For the disintegration of Prajāpati (the year) and his joint by joint reconstruction cf ŚB 1 6 3 35–36 10 1,1 1–3 Also L. Silburn *Instant et cause*, p 52f

[45] Cf e g PB, 18 11 1

[46] PB 18 9 6 (cf also Caland s translation) MS 4 4,7 58 16

[47] In the version of the ŚB. these lotuses indeed contain the whole universe the flowers represent the sky, the stalks the atmosphere and the roots the earth (ŚB 5 4 5,14)

[48] PB 9 6 11

off.[49] It is reasonable to view the use of this sāman in the dasapeya against the same background

Moreover, when dealing with the daśapeya itself, the brāhmaṇa texts tell us that Varuna's *bhargas-* (lustre), or Indra's *indriya- virya-*, or Varuna's *indriya- vīrya-* fell asunder in three parts, which became the seer Bhrgu,[50] the śrāyantiya sāman and the holy river Sarasvati.[51] All three parts are regenerated and put together again in the daśapeya the hotṛ belongs to the lineage of Bhrgu, the srāyantīya is used in the third pṛṣṭha laud and the Sarasvati is present in the form of the vasativari water (this latter part, which is also said simply to have entered the waters, is according to the PB restored by the dikṣā lotuses).[52]

The disintegration of Varuna (or Indra) seems to be preferentially formulated as the loss of the *indriya- virya-*. This force deserves attention. The importance of winning it (back) by the daśapeya is stressed in various ways. For instance PB 18, 9, 5, after having established the numerical equality of the seventeen versed lauds and the year, states that "having got the *indriya- vīrya-* out of the year, he obtains (the *r - i -*)." TB 1, 8, 2, 2 equates the hundred Soma drinkers to the hundred *ayus-*, the hundred *indriya- vīrya-* of man, which are thus restored to the sacrificer. The vāravantiya sāman is also frequently connected with the *indriya virya-*,

[49] On *śānta-* in this passage cf. D. J. Hoens, *Śānti* (Thesis Utrecht, 1951), p. 167. The intention, according to Hoens, is that the evil powers of the year are conjured so that the year is a good and auspicious one. So far so good. But it must also be taken into account, that the word *śānta-* here implies that the year is not only 'appeased' but also in a concrete sense completed, brought to rest. The profane fact of the year's ending is consecrated by the ritual performance of the varavantiya and given transcendent effect. In this double sense being *śānta* (completed and 'appeased') the year is a power for good, which will manifest itself in the *next* year making it a good and auspicious one.

[50] Bhrgu is coosidered the son of Varuṇa, ŚB 11,6,1,1; also AB 3,34,1. A. Weber, *ZDMG*, 9, p. 240ff.

[51] MS 4,3,9: 49, 5, TB 1,8,2,4, PB 18,9,1–2. We may note here the shifting between Indra and his specific quality, the *indriya virya* on the one and Varuṇa and his *bhargas-* on the other side. In the saṃsrps we can also observe this phenomenon. Varuṇa occupies the central place in most of the lists of saṃsrp gods, but Śaṭikh. does not mention him, his place being taken by Indra. Though there are clear instances of collision and syncretism of the cults and mythologies specific to Indra and Varuna (cf. e.g. the sacrifice of Indra's sutavasa cow, which, as shown, was relegated to the end of the unction festival in favour of Varuṇa), it remains to be investigated, on a wider scale than the scope of the present research permits, if both mythologies were not intimately related to each other. This is argued for instance, by Johansson (*Dhiṣaṇā*, p. 157), who links Varuṇa with Vṛtra and calls Indra a "Wechselgott zu Varuṇa".

[52] Baudh. reserves a part of the Sarasvati water, drawn for the unction, for this purpose. Cf. also JB. 2,201, where the Sarasvati part is said to be represented in the unction water itself, to this effect also MS 4,3,9: 49, 7.

the two are identified, while elsewhere this sāman is used in order to encompass the *indriya vīrya*. As will appear this connection is also present in the daśapeya.[53] As to the meaning of this force in the daśapeya the TB gives a clear hint: the ten bull calves that serve as the price for the Soma must not be castrated, so as to further the Indra force.[54] The same idea may be traced in relation to the śrayantīya and the vāravantīya samans. These samans are said to be a means of "propping up" and of encompassing the *indriya vīrya*, when used in the dasapeya.[55] We are also told that Prajapati's seed, which he lost on account of his incestuous desire for his daughter, formed the Manasa lake in the Himalaya, the gods surrounded it with a fire, the Maruts blew on it and by means of the śrayantīya the gods 'propped it up' (*aśrīnan*).[56] From Prajapati's seed, after this treatment, the animals sprung forth, while the charcoals (*angara*) produced the Angirases.[57] The account of this myth concludes with the statement that the śrayantīya is a means of propagating offspring and obtaining cattle while he who knows this myth will obtain sons (*vīra*) and cattle. From these considerations it will become clear that the *indriya vīrya* here is the potency concerned with the continuity of the generations: it connects the subsequent time cycles.[58] At the turn of the year it is in danger of dispersion but "propped up" and "encompassed" it is restored and its adequate function is secured.

Having assessed the general significance of this Soma festival we may proceed to appraise against this background the distinctive trait of this form of the agniṣṭoma, viz. the Soma drinking ceremony with a hundred participants. In the first place it is to be observed that here also the idea of reconstruction is clearly present. TB 1 8 2 2 already cited above,

[53] Cf. JB 2.202 1.352, PB 9.5.9, 18.6.16.

[54] TB 1.8,2,2 *muṣkarā bhavanti sendrāyāya*. Cf. also the bull given to the brahmaṇā cchaṃsin *rāṣṭram evendriyāvy akaḥ* ib. 4.

[55] PB 18.11.4, MS 4.4.9: 60.6.

[56] Elsewhere it is Prajapati who exhausted after his creative activity braced himself fully by progeny, cattle and *indriya* by means of this sāman (PB 9.6.7). Also Indra after his Vṛtra combat and the rajasuya sacrificer after his unction (PB 18.11.1.4).

[57] JB 3.262–64 (Caland *Auswahl* no. 207); PB 8.2,10–11. According AB 3.34.1 Bhṛgu was also among the beings produced from Prajapati's seed.

[58] Cf. also the identification of the embryo with *indriya*: TS 2.1,2,6; TB 1.8.3.3. This function can also be put in terms of space: the *indriya-vīrya* is considered a force pervading the universe, comparable with the axis mundi. This is demonstrated by the myth relating the distribution among the gods of their specific qualities: what is left over is Indra's part, the indriya force. The latter rises upwards through the three worlds. Only by rising to the third world Indra is able to master it. (MS 2,2,8: 21.15–17; KS 10.10: 136.15–18).

brings the hundred Soma drinkers into relation with the hundred *āyus-* and the hundred *indriya- vīrya-* of man On account of the "ritual arithmetic", already met with before, we may readily assume that man, i e the sacrificer, is the hundredth (or the hundred and first) – as he is actually said to be in Baudh 's Dvaidhasūtra –, that is he occupies the pivotal place in the company of the Soma drinkers and at the same time encompasses them and unites them in his person, just as he integrates the hundred *āyus-* and *indriya- vīrya-* The process of dispersion and reintegration is in the symbolism of the samsṛp iṣṭis articulated on the number ten This number is resumed in the daśapeya, to which it has given its name, as the numerical principle of the drinking ceremony, and so gives unmistakable further evidence for the case presented here

The drinking ceremony can, in the opinion of the present writer, best be described as a rite of communion of the king on one side and the other participants on the other, by means of which they establish a strong bond between themselves[59] This point was rightly stressed by Weber, though the style "Eideshelfer" given by him to the anuprasarpakas does not hold good as there is no evidence of an oath whatever Nevertheless the comparison with the tānunaptra rite, suggested by Weber, who fails, however, to give it sufficient substance, has much to recommend it In this rite the sacrificer and the priests touch and smell ghee, which has in four or five portions been ladled into a brass vessel, and which afterwards is added to the meals of the sacrificer [60] The rite is intended to establish an indissoluble bond between the sacrificer and the priests It is explained by a myth[61] that the gods separated into four or five groups, fearing to be overpowered by the asuras they again united, placing their selves (*tanu*) together in 'Varuna's house' (or in Indra), so that the one who would abandon the union would lose his *tanu* The four or five groups of gods are represented in the rite by the four or five portions of ghee in the brass vessel ⁄The priests and the sacrificer by touching and smelling the ghee establish an alliance, which is a recast of the cosmical integration or, in mythological phraseology, the reunion of the gods ⁄The fact that the ghee afterwards may be eaten by the sacrificer points to his being the pivotal personage of the rite and the encompasser of the other participants In this connection it deserves attention that, according to ŚB 3, 4, 2, 15, the gods laid down their selves in Indra, this being the reason why the sacri-

[59] Compare the sacramental meal, on which see v d Leeuw, *La Religion* p 349f
[60] Cf CH no 41, Āp ŚS 11,1, Luders, *Varuna* p 29
[61] Cf Levi, *Doctrine*, p 73, and the passages there cited

ficer – who is identical with Indra – should have the ghee added to his food

Though the oath element is not manifest in the drinking ceremony of the daśapeya, the two rites correspond in at least two essential points 1st, concentration of dispersed elements and integration in the sacrificer, 2nd, this is enacted by the participants when they together partake in some way or other of food (ghee) or drink (Soma) As to the indissoluble bond between the sacrificer and the other participants, which is the avowed purpose of the tanunaptra rite, I shall presently try to show that it is also implied in the daśapeya drinking ceremony But first the ambiguous position of the royal sacrificer towards the Soma drink requires consider ation In the theory of the sutra authors he is even excluded from the drinking of Soma That the Soma did not always belong exclusively to the brahmins is rightly argued by Weber, and Baudh gives evidence that in the case of the daśapeya not only the royal sacrificer but even commoners partook of the Soma The uncertainty as to the king's drinking Soma seems to me inherent in the nature of the relation Soma – king and may therefore well belong to the original state of things We already observed, that the king and Soma are intimately related and even identical, and it is this fact, which occasions the uncertainty about the king s right to the Soma drink When the king drinks Soma, this act practically amounts to his consuming his own self and thus presents two aspects on the one hand it may be considered an act of invigoration, on the other, however, it comes near to self annihilation On this point we may conveniently compare the discussion in AB 7, 26, dealing with the problem whether the sacrificer should consume his part of the offering substance or not There it is stated that the sacrificer is identical with his part of the offering substance The solution given is that the brahman priest (or the purohita), who is half the self ' of the sacrificer should consume the sacrificer s part thus the sacrificer eats his portion in a ' hidden way' (*parokṣena*) In this way the two opposite aspects of the act are given due weight the danger involved in consuming one s own self is eliminated but on the other hand the beneficent effect is secured to the sacrificer A like solution is given by the AB to the problem of the king s partaking of the Soma the king drinks the Soma in a hidden way , when drinking the beverage prepared from nyagrodha shoots and fruits which beverage is considered to represent the Soma [93] This procedure opened the way for the final decision in this ambiguous matter – the total exclusion of the kṣatriya from the Soma drink This exclusion is not primarily conditioned by an

[93] AB 7 31 3

womb of the people to be reborn *from it* To be reborn from it – for the king is not to lose himself completely in the communion, as is indicated by the numerical arrangements, which guarantee his pivotal and encompassing position in the process of the Somic communion Moreover there is the general idea that the sacrificer buys the various parts of his body back from the officiants in the Soma *ritual by means* of the dakṣinās given to them [47] Perhaps this is the reason why the dakṣinās for the dasapeya are given in such a detailed way

It is part of the history of Vedic ritual in general that the people as participant in the drinking ceremony were superseded by the brahmins The shift from the *viś* to the *brahman* need not cause surprise, as both the *brahman* and the *viś* are considered the womb of royalty, and this shift must have been a possibility from the outset The growing complicatedness of the ritual will have made it the exclusive territory of the brahmanical experts the specialists of rebirth out of *brahman* , who superseded in due course other participants in all sacrificial functions That, however, the daśapeya has retained some of its importance in regard to the people is also shown by PB 18, 10, 9, where it is stated that the seventeenfold lauds of the daśapeya which are said to stand for the people, are enclosed on both sides by a twenty one fold laud (to wit the last one of the unction festival and the first of the hair-cutting festival), the twenty-one-fold stoma standing for royalty, the people are thus encircled by royalty and will not depart from it [48]

The complex of ideas behind the daśapeya the reconstruction of space and time securing the safe course of the new period when disruption sets in at the beginning of the new year, and the concretization of this process in the marriage like communion of the king and the people, all this places the daśapeya in the line of the royal rites. It is, however, not to be discerned whether the unction and the daśapeya were from the outset linked up with each other It is conceivable that the daśapeya has a separate history, but it may be assumed that its roots lie within the origins of the Soma ritual The drinking ceremony seems even to represent an older,

[47] *Cf* the formulas for giving the dakṣinas to the priests, Āp ŚS 13 6 4–6 JB 2,54 (Caland, *Auswahl* no 124)

[48] *For the identification* seventeen-fold stoma – people (*viś*-) cf PB 2,7 5,2,10 4 By a shift, frequently to be observed, between the encompassing and the *pivotal* aspect this identification is also made with the terms reversed *royalty* seventeen fold stoma, people twenty-one-fold stoma Then it is the royalty which is surrounded and brought forth out of the middle of the *viś*- (MS 4 4 10 62.6 TB 1 8 8,4–5). *Moreover the viś* is not only connected with the image of the womb but also with the phallus, as the *viś*- was created from Prajāpati s membrum virile together with the seventeen-fold stoma (PB 6 1 10)

more original stage in the development of the Soma ritual than the present prasthita bhakṣana, the prasarpakas in the ordinary agniṣṭoma, whose vague role seems to be limited to that of mere onlookers, though they are important enough to share in the dakṣinās, are probably the faded remnants of the original participants in the Somic rites, such as they are still met with in the daśapeya That such a ritual as the daśapeya was always preceded by a consecration a dikṣa stands to reason Perhaps the unction, which, as seen shows a great likeness to the Soma dikṣa, took the place of this consecration – or doubled the consecratory rites proper to the daśapeya (saṃsṛps, lotus wreath) – and it is even conceivable that the unction though not in its present elaborated form embedded in the abhiṣecaniya Soma festival has always provided the consecration for the royal daśapeya festival of communion between king and people, in which the heavenly fluid was set circulating through the universe [69] This shows us a coherent complex of rites of great richness the king is manifested in the unction as the source and pivot of the life giving fluids streaming along his body in their course between heaven and earth, in the daśapeya he communicates the heavenly fluid, and thereby himself, to his people and to the whole universe, with which he enters in this way into a marriage like bond [70]

[69] This may also explain why Laty says when beginning his description of the daśapeya that the sacrificer is *taddikṣita* which in its context can only refer to the unction festival as a whole as neither saṃsṛps nor lotuses are mentioned

[70] In contradistinction to the unction the daśapeya drinking ceremony seems not to have made much way in the development of Hindu ritual The reason for its disappearance may be attributed to the fact that by the elimination of the people as the drinking partner of the king it lost most of its significance. *As a rite of communion between the* king and the priests its place was easily taken by the corresponding rites of the normal – or rather normalized agniṣṭoma However in the area of India's cultural influence a near relative – though certainly not a direct descendant – of the drinking ceremony may be recognized in the Siamese Thu nam ceremony (cf H G Quaritch Wales *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London 1931 pp 193 9) All the officials and members of the royal family must drink from water in which the regalia have been dipped and thereby swear an oath of allegiance The ceremony is performed twice a year at the beginning of the new year and when half the year has passed The comparison finds moreover support in the fact that the water is not only pernicious to the backslider but will also give prosperity in this and the next world to the loyal servant (cf *op cit* p 197).

XXIII

OFFERINGS OF THE QUARTERS OF SPACE

(*DIŚĀM AVEṢṬAYAḤ*)

TS 1 8 19 TB 1 8 3 1 MS 2 6 13 72 14–17 4 4 9 60 7 13 KS 15 9 216 8–11 ŚB 5 5 1
Baudh 12 19 115 6–10 Āp 18 21 8–11 Hir 13 7 17 20 Kāty 15 9 1 10

This is an iṣṭi consist ng of five offerings which according to Āp forms the breaking up iṣṭi for the daśapeya [1] Though for each of the five offerings a separate dakṣina is prescribed they have in common their framework (*tantra*) they form techn cally a unity [2] The WhYV specifies to which priests these daksiṇas must be given

The five offerings are

Offer ngs	*God*	*Dakṣ ṇa*	*Pr est*
1 a cake on 8 potsherds	Agni	gold	āgn dhra
2 a cake on 11 potsherds (al ernat vely acc to WhYV caru	Indra Soma	a bull a brown ox)	brahman
3 caru	V śve De āḥ	a tawney he fer (a speckled ox WhYV)	hotṛ
4 āmikṣā	M tra and Varuṇa	a barren cow	both adhvaryus[3]
5 caru	Bṛhaspat	a wh te-backed ox	brahman

[1] For the break ng up ṣṭi (udavasānīyā) see CH no 259 According to H r and Vārāha ŚS 3 3 4 31 32 t s performed on the same day as the daśapeya Baudh how ever has t performed probably on the follow ng day anyhow not as the daśapeya s udavasān yā, which latter iṣṭi he men ons separately Th s seems also to be the op n on

When the cakes and carus have been prepared and placed on the vedi the Bṛhaspati caru is placed in the middle The MS , followed by Āp and Hir , makes what is placed in the middle dependent on the class of the sacrificer, if he is a brahmin, it is the Bṛhaspati caru, if he is a kṣatriya the Indra cake, and in case he is a vaiśya, it is the caru for the Viśve Devah In the WhYV this differentiation is not made The WhYV states precisely that the other four offerings must be placed at the four points of the compass to the east Agni's offering is placed to the south the Indra cake, to the west the caru for the Viśve Devāh and to the north the āmikṣa for Mitra and Varuṇa

After each of the first four chief offerings ghee is poured on the central offering,[4] or, as the WhYV has it, the remainder of these four offerings are added to the central Bṛhaspati caru, which is therefore called in the WhYV the "five holed ' caru (*pañcabila*) [5]

This iṣṭi can also be performed independently of the rajasuya Its purpose is then to provide the sacrificer with food (MS , Hir , WhYV) or tejas (TB , Āp) and it may even open for him the road to heaven (Hir)

ANNOTATIONS

The offerings of the quarters of space (in order to remove them) are intended to form the counterpart of the mounting the quarters of space' ceremony In the latter ceremony the sacrificer mounts by five steps to the zenith, now, he descends to earth and thus gets a firm footing Otherwise he would be lost and even go mad [6] The two ceremonies re present the two joints in the eternal cyclical process of rising to the zenith and descending to the earth Having gone ritually through these two terminal stations the sacrificer secures his safe journey along the road "to heaven and back to the earth) In this connection atttention is

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of Katy who places it in the light (first) half of the following month viz according to my computation Caitra (Katy s comm however followed by Weber opines that it is Vaiśakha)

[3] Cf Hir 13 3 11

[4] That is acc to Katy s comm the adhvaryu and the agnidhra not as usual the adhvaryu and the *pratiprasthātṛ*

[4] According to Baudh 22,21 145 16 ghee is also poured a fifth time on the (rest of the) Bṛhaspati caru after the main offering has been made Śalīki rejects this view

[5] A pancabila-caru is also mentioned by Āp ŚS 20 25 1 2 There it is a caru dedicated to the same gods but served on one sthali with five holes four to the four points of the compass and one in the middle each of which contains a pap for one of the gods

[6] TB 1 8 3 1 MS 4 4 9 60 7 10 ŚB 5 5 1,2

attracted by the mentioning of "Aryaman's path", which is represented by the white back of the dakṣiṇā ox connected with the offering for Bṛhaspati.[7] *Aryaman is often identified* with the sun,[8] and his path seems to be the course of the sun,[9] a caru offered to Aryaman is recommended for one who wishes to reach heaven.[10] So the sacrificer is enabled to imitate the sun in its unremitting course to the zenith and back. He becomes equal to the sun as the encompasser and articulator of time and space. (Therefore the whole universe is drawn into the picture of this rite, not only the regions of space, but also the seasons, the gods, and the elements of the ritual,[11] all bound together by the number five, which clearly expresses here the totality of the cosmos.[12]) In this connection it is not astonishing that the ox, whose white back represents Aryaman's path, is given to the brahman priest and that it is within the framework of the Bṛhaspati offering that Aryaman is mentioned. The sun, moving along the central axis, pervading and encompassing in its course the universe, was clearly considered a most expressive manifestation of the brahman force.[13] This brahman force is figured in the present iṣṭi by the Bṛhaspati caru standing in the centre – or rather at the top – of the four other offerings placed at the four points of the compass. Now the Bṛhaspati caru represents the sacrificer.[14] After each offering the central offering receives a share portion or even, as the WhYV prescribes, the remainders of the offering substance. In exactly the same way the sacrificer is supposed to receive food from the four quarters, while remaining firmly established in his (central) position (*viṣṭārrajm-* ŚB 5,5,1,12). In this way concentration of the universe in the sacrificer is evoked. We are reminded here of the imagery figured by the brahman proclamation: the king in the centre emanating and resorbing the brahman power to and from the quarters. This comparison may also explain why the brahman priest is twice

[7] ŚB 5,5,1,12.

[8] Cf. TS 2.3,4.1-2, Sāyaṇa ad ŚB 5,5,1,12 renders Aryaman with Surya, in general see Hillebrandt, *V. M.*², II, p. 69ff.

[9] Weber (p. 84, no. 2) interprets Aryaman's path as the Milky Way, but v. Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 72.

[10] Caland, *W. O.*, no. 171.

[11] Cf. ŚB 5,4,1,3–8, 5,5,1,3–7.

[12] Cf. e.g. TS 1,5,2,1 where the sacrifice, cattle and man himself are said to be fivefold.

[13] Cf. ŚB 14,1,2,15 where Brahmaṇaspati is identified with the sun, and ChUp 3,19,1–4 explaining the birth of the brahman = the sun from the world-egg.

[14] Cf. TB 1,8.3.1 *yajamāna-devatyo vai Bṛhaspati*. MS., prescribing that only in case the sacrificer is a brahmin the Bṛhaspati caru is the central one, at least stresses the intimate connection of the sacrificer with the central position. The Taittirīyakas and the followers of the WhYV clearly consider the sacrificer a brahmin, being reborn out of the sacrifice, and proclaimed thus.

mentioned for a dakṣiṇa once in connection with the central offering and again with a peripheral one the two brahman dakṣinas correspond with the two phases of the brahman force the central emanating and resorbing phase and the peripheral emanated one

From the above it will be clear that the present iṣṭi as well as the mounting the quarters of space ceremony gives expression to the ideas of the cyclical process of integration and disintegration rising and descending The opposition of the two rites in my opinion resides in the fact that, whereas in the mounting ceremony the sacrificer by making a step in each direction goes himself to the five quarters he remains in the present iṣṭi in his place in the centre while the quarters come to him In the former rite the sacrificer as it were disperses himself among the regions of space or becomes the embryo of the regions In the latter rite he buys himself off from the regions of space the seasons etc [15] The idea of buying off corresponds with birth as for instance is shown by the fact that when the Soma is purchased the Soma and the sacrificer are considered newly born [16]

Thus the image evoked by the *disam aveṣṭayah* is that of the king who being born in the midst of the universe puts off his caul the enveloping regions of space to the points of the compass from whence in turn the regions tender him their food (which will ripen in the coming year)

[15] ŚB 5 5 1 2 Perhaps also from the priests who are given dakṣinas

[16] Cf the verses recited when the Soma is taken over from the Soma merchant CH no 34 MS 1 3 6 15 1 As to the birth of the sacrificer cf TS 6 1 3 2 3 MS 3 6 7 68 17 Cf also MS 2 5 9 59 4 he buys them (the young cattle) from their birthplace" (*s ad eva nan yoner n ṣkr ndt*) which passage is suggestive of the relation between buying off and birth

XXIV

SACRIFICE OF TWO ANIMALS (*DVIPAŚUBANDHAH*)

TS 1 8 19 TB 1 8 3,2 3 MS 2 6 13 73 4 4 4 9 60 18–61 1 ŚB 5,5,2,8–10
Baudh 12 19 115 11 14 Āp 18,21 12 13 H r 13 7,21 22 Kāty 15 9 17 19

The Taittirīyakas placing this sacrifice directly after the dīśam aveṣṭayah include it in the cycle of the unction and daśapeya [1] The Maitrayanīyas however perform it a year later after the hair-cutting festival [2] and so does the WhYV too where such a sacrifice is prescribed after the prayujam havirmṣi which are meant to mark – symbolically or actually – a year s time [3]

This animal sacrifice consists in the offering of (acc to the Taitti rīyakas) a dew lapped goat in kid for Aditi or for the Adityas a dappled heifer for the Maruts

According to the Maitrayanīyas the heifer for the Maruts is also in calf [4] The followers of the WhYV immolate two pregnant cows a red dish white one for Ad ti (or the Ādityas) and a p ebald one for the Maruts or the Viśve Devah [5]

Whereas in the BlYV this is one sacrifice with two victims executed along the lines of the animal sacrifice with eleven victims [6] the WhYV makes it two separate sacrifices

As one or both victims are in young special provisions are necessary for the disposat of the foetus parts of which are offered together with parts of the victims Thus the WhYV expressly prescribes that the victims

[1] Āp has t performed on the same day as the daśapeya after the d śam aveṣṭayah (cf also comm ad Hir 13 7 21) H r places it on the following day Baudh s opinion probably s that t is performed on the second day after the daśapeya.

[2] Cf Vārāha ŚS 3 3 4 43

[3] Kāty prescribes ts performance on a new moon day wh ch accord ng to the comm is the new moon day in the month Va śakha (Acc to my computation this would rather be the month before, viz. Caitra) Śāṅkh has borrowed th s sacrifice from the WhYV but places t immed ately after the *dīśām aveṣṭayah* (15 14 13)

[4] The KS does not ment on th s sacrifice

[5] The alternat ve Viśve Devāh for the Maruts seems to be taken over in the wrong order by Śaṅkh ŚS 15 14 13 where V śve Devah is the alternat ve for the Ādityas.

[6] The ekadaśini sacrif ce provides the prototype for all an mal sacrifices with more than one v ctim cf Āp ŚS 24 3 36 for the ekadaś ni rules cf Āp ŚS 14 5–7

he (the priest) makes the people powerless [12] When dealing with the daśapeya it was apparent that the *indriya vīrya* is the potency concerned with the continuity of the generations and of the time cycles This re generating potency is concentrated in the king whose rebirth at the be ginning of the new year – which is exactly the period concerned here – coincides with or rather symbolizes the renewal of the whole cosmos

The MS and the WhYV in whose version both victims are in young, also deal with the king's relation to the people as far as the Marut victim is concerned confirming what appeared so far the relation king people is conceived of as that between the embryo and its place of birth. This relation is expressed and effectuated by the pregnant Marut victim he (the priest) makes him (the sacrificer) thus the embryo of the people (viś) [13] A parallel idea is given expression to by the immolation of the Aditi victim the king is made into the embryo of Aditi [14] This practically means that the king is made into the embryo of heaven and earth Aditi being connected not only with the earth but also with heaven He may even be made into the embryo of the whole of the universe as is explicitly stated by ŚB 5 5 2 10 when explaining that if the two victims are immolated for the Ādityas (instead of for Aditi) and for the Viśve Devah (instead of for the Maruts) the priest makes the sacrificer in both cases the embryo of the whole (*sarva*) [15]

It has already been noted in another connection that the sacrificial victim represents that out of which the sacrificer is reborn Being immolated the victim gives birth to the sacrificer imparting to him a new identity equal to its own It is thus that the birth out of sacrifice out of brahman is realized Now the rite for immolating a pregnant victim is clearly intended to secure ritually speaking the safe birth of the foetus as is evidenced by the special mantras used on the occasion I split apart thy urinator thy womb the two groins the mother and the child the embryo and the afterbirth Apart from thee let it be bang! [16] The foetuses of the victims represent the king sacrificer and so this sacrifice represents the birth of the king from the people and from the whole of the universe

[12] TB 1 8 3 3 For the identification embryo- ndriya cf also TS 2,1 2,6
[13] MS 4 4 9 60 18 ŚB 5 5,2 9
[14] MS 4 4 9 60 19 ŚB 5 5 2,8
[15] On the implication of *sarva*-meaning whole including or concerning every part cf J Gonda "Reflections on *sarva* in vedic texts *S K Chatterji Jubilee volume Indian Linguistics* 16 (Madras 1955) p 53ff (specially p 62) Here we may take it to denote the whole of the cosmos
[16] TS 3 3 10d,e cf also ŚB 4 5,2,3 5

XXV

TRUTH MESSENGER IṢṬI (*SĀTYADŪTA HAVĪMSI*)

TS 1 8 19 TB 1 8,3 3–4, MS 2,6 13 73.5–7 4 4 9 61.2 5 KS 15 9.216 14–16 Baudh. 12,19 115 15–116.2 Āp 18,21 16–22,4 Hir 13 7 25–26

Next to the animal sacrifice the BlYV prescribes an iṣṭi for the Aśvins, Pusan, Sarasvant (or Sarasvatī) and Savitṛ.[1] The offerings are

1)	cake baked on 12 potsherds (or 11 p.)	for the Aśvins and Pusan
2)	caru	for Sarasvant Satyavac (Sarasvatī Satyavac)
3)	cake baked on 12 potsherds (MS of pea flour, on 8 potsh.)	for Savitṛ Satyaprasava (Savitr Prasavitr)

MS and KS have another order of succession 1) Savitr 2) Aśvins Pusan, 3) Sarasvatī

The dakṣinas for this iṣṭi are according to TS a bow with three arrows and a dry skin bag MS prescribes a stick, a pair of (leather) shoes, and a dry skin bag while KS combines the items prescribed by TS and MS, or instead of these a horse with red ears.[2]

The particular trait of these dakṣinās is that they are not destined for the priests to keep, but that they are passed on by messengers to rival kings (*pratirajan*.) Āp enjoins that the sacrificer should bathe over them and then have them sent to rival kings by means of messengers These

[1] Āp places this iṣṭi on the day after the dasapeya, the diśām aveṣṭayaḥ and the animal sacrifice being performed on the same day as the dasapeya. Baudh. probably intends to perform it on the day following the animal sacrifice i.e. on the second day after the daśapeya, the 11th day of the light half of Vaiśakha or Jyaiṣṭha. The Maitrayaṇīyas and the Kaṭhakas perform it a year later after the prayujam haviṃṣi (and the hair-cutting festival) Hir follows them (or rather the Kaṭhakas as is evidenced by the dakṣinas prescribed by him) mentioning the dakṣinas for this iṣṭi directly after the prayujam haviṃṣi. (Hir.'s text mentioning only the dakṣinas, has here a hiatus) The iṣṭi is lacking in the WhYV

[2] Besides the dakṣinas as enumerated in the TS., Āp mentions the opinion of "some" who prescribe a stick and a pair of *boar skin* shoes or, alternatively a stick, a pair of *old* shoes, or a dry skin bag. Hir follows KS

messengers, the truth messengers (*satyaduta*) after whom the iṣṭi is named, announce the unction of the sacrificer to the rival kings with the words "I have been anointed, I have become king."[3] Baudh. has it that if the rival kings accept the gifts, they thereby show that they are the sacrificer's friends (*mitra*), if not, his enemies.[4]

ANNOTATIONS

This iṣṭi is explained by TB. and MS. by a myth teaching that the gods, being engaged in war with the asuras, deposited the "truth of speech" (*vacaḥ satyam*) with the Aśvins and Pūṣan. Having done so they vanquished the asuras, by "falsehood" (*anṛta*) as the TB. has it. Then the gods regained the satya through the cake for the Aśvins and Pūṣan, it is set free again and put in motion through the offerings for Sarasvant (or Sarasvatī) and Savitṛ. Sarasvant (Sarasvatī) represents Speech – "by speech the satya is put on its way" (*vaca satyam prahiṇoti*, MS. 4, p. 61, 3) –, Savitṛ impels it – "the Savitṛ cake is for impelling" (*prasavāya*, MS. ib.). The situation of the satya, being stored away during the critical struggle with the asuras, and being released when victory is gained, seems to correspond with the situation of the sacrificer in his state of dikṣita, subject to all kinds of inhibitions, then reborn and set free again through the sacrifice.[5] In this connection it will be elucidating that the Aśvins are inter alia concerned with the conception of the embryo, while Pūṣan, in general a god concerned with fertility and growth, is also, as knower of the paths, conceived of as conductor and guardian of the dead.[6] Here it will also be of interest that Pūṣan is said to have found "the hidden king (Soma)".[7]

It seems to me that the background of this iṣṭi is formed by the parallel between the king sacrificer and the satya, both moving from concealment, death, inactivity, to manifestation, rebirth, action. This parallel may be further illustrated by pointing out the correspondence of both the sacrificer and the satya to the sun. We have frequently met with the corres-

[3] The bathing is to be found in Āp. only. The message and its wording after MS. Baudh. does not ment on the message but he records as the *dvaidhasūtra* (22,21, 146, 7) a message worded acc. to Śālikī: NN. has sent you this.

[4] Acc. to Āp. s. comm. the dakṣiṇās are afterwards returned to the priests.

[5] In this respect the passage AB. 7, 10, 4 may be recalled: "the sacrificer's wife is the *śraddhā*, the sacrificer is the *satya*." For the sacrificer *satya*- as the male partner of the female *śraddhā* (confidence, faith) see Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 115. On the king's dīkṣita state cf. chapter XXVII, Ann.

[6] Macdonell, *VM*, pp. 165, 35.

[7] RV. 1, 23, 14.

pondence between the king sacrificer and the sun, the identification satya sun is evidenced by passages such as ŚB 6, 7, 1, 2, 14, 1, 2, 22, TB 2, 1, 11, 1 Applying this correspondence to the situation of the present iṣṭi we arrive at a picture of the sun's subterranean course, its release from darkness and its victorious rise to the zenith In this picture the Aśvins, who are often connected with sunrise and who convey on their chariot the sun maiden Surya,[8] and Puṣan, who in one passage[9] claims the Asvins as his father and is in general frequently connected with the sun,[10] show to full advantage

It is not the intention of the present writer to explain this iṣṭi as the ritual realization of a "solar myth", but to clarify the process in which the satya is involved – a process clearly conceived of as being of the same nature as the course of the sun Above is indicated the parallelism of the king's rebirth and the release of the satya In my opinion we may even go further in connecting both ideas the reborn king personifies the satya – that is not so much truth in an ethic sense but rather the cosmic order[11] This seems not to be too bold an assertion on recalling that the king at his ritual rebirth is conceived of as the personification and the circulation centre of the brahman, the force which pervades and upholds the universe If this were not the case the contents of the 'truth' message "I have been anointed, I have become king" would be rather meagre if not inane Matters being as they are the announcement of the sacrificer's unction is the most concise announcement of the satya, the cosmic order, personified by the king By the sending of the message the cosmic order is put in motion again from its centre to pervade the world, "By speech he sets on its way the satya (formulated as follows) I have been anointed, I have become king They (the addressees) place faith in (*srad dadhati*) the anointed "[12]

In much the same way the emperor Aśoka claimed to have won a universal *dhammavijaya* a conquest of the world by the cosmic order, through his sending missionaries

Together with the truth message go some gifts which give it a concrete form In the first place it may be observed that this presents a clear example of the views expounded by Mauss on gift giving especially on the bond established by the gift between the giver and the recipient, the

[8] Cf Macdonell *V M* p 50f
[9] RV 10 85 14
[10] Cf Macdonell *V M* p 30 35-37
[11] On the notion of *satya-* cf Oldenberg *Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmanatexte* (Göttingen 1919) p 187 Lüders, *Varuna* p 13-24
[12] MS 4 4 9 61 3 On the intimate relation satya śraddhā see p 204 n. 5

latter becoming the sacrificer's ally when accepting the gift [13] Also note the entirely non-economic subjective value of the gift Now the ritual furnishes a clue which makes it possible to assess the subjective value of the gift under discussion and to clarify its mechanism Āp prescribes that the king should bathe over the objects before sending them on In this procedure probably resides the value of the gifts We are not informed about the significance of this bath but it may safely be compared with the final bath after a Soma festival the more so as the present iṣṭi is directly linked with the unction festival [14] The final bath is one of the rites marking explicitly the ritual rebirth of the sacrificer [15] Here the remainders from his ritual birth process are disposed of and the dikṣita attire the sacrificer's embryonic coverings are left The same it seems to me holds good for the bath in the present iṣṭi The objects over which the king bathes are mostly of the same nature as the paraphernalia used in the ceremonies of the unction festival the bow with three arrows reminds us of the same item handed to the king in preparation for the unction the leather shoes are easily to be linked with those which the king puts on at the time of the chariot drive [16] the stick may be connected with that given to the dikṣita in the normal Soma paradigma [17] The dikṣā and the unction having as seen before much in common we may consider these gift objects as leavings from the birth process disposed of in a kind of final bath [18] Interesting in this light is also the dry skin bag which though having no link with either the dikṣa or the unction admits of a similar interpretation The skin bag is often mentioned as the vessel containing the heavenly fluids and abundance it contains the rain and Dhatar or Parjanya are asked to open it up in order to release the rains [19] the Aśvins convey on their chariot a skin bag out of which they spend madhu for promoting the welfare of man and animal [20] In this same line we may

[13] M Mauss, *The Gift* (transl by I Cunnison) (London 1954) also G v d. Leeuw *La Religion* p 343ff

[14] In the process of fixation of the ritual as noted oftener it became dissociated from the unction and was even in some schools postponed for a year after the unction. According to the wording of the message sent, however it clearly belongs to the unction, forming its logical conclusion

[15] Cf MS 3 6 7 68 18 also the mantra with which the sacrificer addresses the water before entering it 'ye divine waters this is thy foetus TS 1 4 45h

[16] Āp mentioning the option of some, even speaks of boar skin shoes

[17] Cf CH no 17g

[18] The fact that as far as I know the gift objects are not directly connected with the corresponding unction objects is probably due to the fact that the present ceremony was dissociated from the unction in the course of development

[19] Respectively AV 7 18 1 RV 5 83 7

[20] RV 8 5 19–20 4 45 1 3

satyadūta-. Where the *satyadūta-* is connected with birth and renewal, we may see in the *anṛtadūta-* not a mere spy or agent-provocateur but the messenger of death and destruction, and connect him with the ritual phase of death which the king has to pass through in order to be reborn.

XXVI

YOKING OFFERINGS (*PRAYUJĀM HAVĪMṢI*)

TS 1 8 20 TB 1 8 4 MS 2 6 13 7 2 17 7 3 3 KS 15 9 21 6 11 14 ŚB 5 5 2 1 7 Baudh 12 19 1 16 2 9 Āp 18 22 5–8 Hir 13 7 23 24 Katy 15 9 11 16

The cycle of ceremonies round the unction concludes with the 12 prayujam havimṣi These are *acc to* TS [1] the following offerings

1 cake on 12 potsherds	for Agni
2 caru	for Soma
3 cake on 12 potsherds (8 potsh KS 12 or 8 potsh WhYV)	for Savitṛ
4 caru	for Brhaspati
5 cake on 8 potsherds (10 potsh WhYV)	for Tvaṣṭr
6 cake on 12 potsherds	for Agni Vaiśvanara
7 caru	for Sarasvati
8 caru	for Pusan
9 caru	for Mitra
10 caru	for Varuna
11 caru	for Ksetrapati
12 caru	for Aditi

These twelve offerings can be performed as twelve separate istis with a month s interval so as to fill out the year following the unction [2] An alternative to this extension of the prayujam havimṣi in terms of time is given in the WhYV in terms of space the first six offerings are made each on a separate place of sacrifice at a d stance of one śamya throw

[1] The other schools have the same list as the Ta tt riyakas but in MS and KS the fifth and sixth offering have interchanged their place in the sequence as have the eleventh and twelfth In the WhYV the tenth and eleventh are interchanged

[2] Cf Caland s note ad Āp 18 22 8 Caland s nformation that they are performed during the unct on year s clearly a sl p of the pen The year meant is that between daśapeya and keśavapaniya

from each other in the eastern direction, for the second series of six the same procedure is followed in the reverse direction, so as to return to the starting point The BlYV and the WhYV prefer, however, to make them into two iṣṭis of six offerings each, performed on two subsequent days [3] The dakṣinā for the first series of six offerings is the right hand draught ox of the transport cart of the (royal?) chariot, the left hand one is given as dakṣiṇa for the second series In the WhYV two draught oxen are prescribed as daksiṇa for each series [4]

ANNOTATIONS

What is being yoked by means of this offering is the new time cycle (the year) and its constituent units days and nights, months, seasons "The anointed (king) yokes the months (*ṛtu*), yoked, the months carry him", (when making the first six offerings) [5] he yokes the (first) six months, when yoked they carry him eastward till the rainy season , while the other six months yoked by the second series of offerings, carry him back [5] These offerings represent a march or rather a chariot drive through the universe, a march which can be put in terms of space as well as of time the offerings can be made with monthly intervals or with intervals of a samyā throw [1] We have met with similar ideas in the caturmasyas and the samsṛp offerings while the year imagined as a chariot yoked with the seasons has been mentioned when dealing with the chariot drive In this connection the reference in the WhYV to the *purīagni* – the draught oxen of the *purīagni* being given as dakṣiṇa – seems to be particularly relevant We saw that the *purvagni* was involved in the rites of the chariot drive as it was moved up to the north of the ahavaniya fire, and when dealing with the building of the dicing hut which was built near or at the place of the *purīagni* , we supposed that the *purīagni* was the fire representing the old year and was to be renewed at the beginning of the new year This

[3] The Ta tt riyakas place the prayujām havirṃṣi after the two-animal sacrifice and the truth messenger iṣṭ Āp has the first series performed on the same day as the truth messenger iṣṭi Hir on the day following it. Baudh prescribes for the first series the day before full moon in the month Va ākha (or Jyaṣṭha) while the second series is due on the full moon day after the usual full moon iṣṭi MS and KS as the WhYV place the prayujām haviṃṣi on the two days following the daśapeya (accord ng to Vārāha ŚS 3 3 4,27 39 they fill out the last two days of the half month which began with the three upasad days for the unct on)

[4] These draught-oxen are styled *agnīdh* viz., according to the comm the oxen which drew the *purvāgni* to the āhavan ya hearth on the extended place of sacrifice. On the *purvāgni* cf also the chariot drive the enthronement and the dicing rites.

[5] Śn 5,5,2,1.3 4 cf also MS 4 4 9 60 16 TB 1 8 4 4

hypothesis would fit in here very well In the present offerings, which begin with an Agni offering, the year fire would then be set in motion again on a circulating course through the universe The juxtaposition of the *purvagni* (WbYV) and the king s chariot, or at least its transport cart (BlYV) points in the same direction

It is interesting to see that this idea of a march through the universe had its reflection in what the TB reports to have been the former habits of the Kuru Pañcāla people to pass the year,[6] at the same time this TB passage shows how in this cosmic movement fertility processes, the growth and production of crops, were involved In the last month of the cool season (*sisira*) i e in the month Phalguna, they set out on a *digvijaya* or world conquest in an easterly direction, there they took hold of the barley harvest, fed their men and animals and returned to the west, immediately before the rainy season Then, after the rainy season, they laboured in their own fields, and in the last month of the year they harvested the second crop [7]

From the above considerations the conclusion may be drawn that after the universal rebirth brought about by the unction and related ceremonies the cosmos is put in circulatory motion again by means of the prayujam havimṣi This general idea materializes in the evocation of the king setting out in the beginning of the year on the time chariot, encompassing and piecing together in his course the new time cycle (the year) and space, or, to put it in the words of TB 1, 8, 4, 4 (speaking of the draught oxen given as dakṣinā) 'he yokes the two ends of the year, it serves for the reaching of heaven"

[6] On the Kuru Pañcāla people which seems to have been a stronghold of brahmanic ritual traditions, see Macdonell Keith, *VI*, 1 p 165f

[7] TB 1,8,4 1 2, cf also Mādhava ad TS 1 8,20 p 193-196

hair on his head must be left intact [4] Laty further prescribes that the king should not wash but only rub himself, he cuts his nails and cleans his teeth, he sleeps on a tiger skin in the fire hut and should not have sexual intercourse [5] Laty extends the tabu also over the subjects, who are forbidden to have their hair, beard and nails cut, moreover they should not cut the manes or tails of their horses, nor treat the horses' teeth with a whetstone (*tejani*) nor castrate them The brahmins in the king's realm, however, are exempted from these interdictions

The Soma ritual of the hair cutting festival is that of the atiratra, the Soma festival which lasts the night through till dawn of the following day [6] Its lauds are arranged in such a way that the number of verses of which they are composed decreases at every service (*pratahsavana*) the lauds of the morning service are composed of 21 verses those of the midday service of 17, those of the evening service and the nightly lauds of 15 verses, the laud at dawn of 9 verses [7]

The hair cutting is, according to Āp and Hir performed twice at the moments prescribed in the normal Soma paradigma, once at the dīkṣā and again at the conclusion of the Soma ritual [8] Āp and Hir prescribe that the hair cutting should be accompanied by the eight mantras TB 2, 7, 17, the first four of which should be recited at the first shaving the last four at the second turn [9]

The hair-cutting mantras are the following

1 The long haired ones (*kesin*) who first performed the sattra, by whom that which is visible here was brought about for them I offer manifold ghee libations
You (long haired ones) should unite this man (the sacrificer) with wealth (*rāyaspoṣa*) and lustre (*varcas*)

[4] *Cf JB* 2,204 Cf Baudh according to whom hair and beard are both cut resp shaved after the unction after the daśapeya only the beard is shaved

[5] *nanu grāmam praviset* this expression is explained by Laty s comm in two ways he should not go into the community (the village) or he should abstain from sexual intercourse

[6] For the atiratra cf Dumont *Aśvamedha* no 215 Āp 14 3 8–4 11

[7] Thus ŚB 5 5 3 3–4 KS gives another scheme going down to 9 verses for the agniṣṭoma and uktha lauds then again 21 verses for the ṣoḍaśin laud, 15 for the night service and 9 for the laud at dawn

[8] Cf CH nos 14a and 256 Baudh and Varaha mention only the second moment Katy gives no details

[9] Thus Hir s comm explains the words *ād pravada* and *antaprarāda* which seem to mean the mantras which begin with ment oning the hair-cutting resp those which end with it *This does not however fit the arrangement of TB 2 7 17 Perhaps originally other* mantras or another arrangement of the same mantras are meant The mantras prescribed here belong to the rājābhiṣeka which seems to be related to the keśavapaniya (cf Āp 22 28 Baudh 18 16–19 who calls it mṛtyusava)

2 Not without the brahman power is there a cessation of the exertion (*tapas*)
The *dikṣā* has two names, commanding (*vaśinī*), sharp (*ugrā*)
The hairs arise (and) grow stalky
Only the brahman rules their shaving.[10]

3 Mount on the bench, overcome the foes, the commanding, the sharp dikṣā has released (you), give a dakṣinā, lengthen your lifetime and thus free yourself from Varuṇa's noose

4 With the razor with which Savitṛ, the knowing one, shaved the hair of king Soma, of Varuna, therewith, brahmins, shave here (the hair of the sacrificer)
Unite him with nourishment (*ūrj*), wealth (*rayi*) and lustre (*varcas-*)

5 May not your lustre (*varcas*) follow your hairs (when shaved) This may Dhātṛ grant you Indra, Bṛhaspati, Savitṛ have bestowed lustre (*varcas*)

6 They sought in many ways a depository for those (hairs) between heaven and earth, between the waters and heaven
Depositing them on the force imparting (*viryakṛt*) bunch of darbha grass unite him (the sacrificer) with virility and lustre

7 Savitṛ must lay force (*bala*) in your arms, Soma must anoint you with milk and ghee Deposit O Aśvins, this as form (*rupa*) in the women, unite him (the sacrificer) with virility and lustre

8 If the comb has scratched the parting of the hair, or what the razor has passed over in shaving, deposit, O Aśvins , etc

As to the extent of the hair-cutting there is a difference between the BlYV and WhYV, whereas the BlYV uses here the word *vapate*, to shave, the WhYV specifies that the king should not have his hair shaved but only shortened (*nivartayate*)

As to the place of the hair cutting festival in the whole of the rajasuya Katy gives two possibilities either it follows shortly after the dašapeya and is itself followed by two more sacrifices, or it is due a year after the unction festival (which year is filled out by the yoking offerings) and then constitutes the conclusion of the rajasuya This latter view seems to be the view of the ŚB which mentions no more Soma festivals and which

[10] The two names of the dīkṣa are compared by Sāyaṇa with the two designations of the vrata undertaken by the dīkṣita "of a beatific back (*sujaghana*) and razor-edged" (*kṣurapavi*) (TS 6 2 5 2) The brahman who rules over the shaving is declared by Sāyaṇa as the purohita he represents the brahman power of the first pāda without which there is no cessation of the tapas he takes the lead in the shaving ceremony

enjoins the year's interval between the unction and hair-cutting festivals [11]

ANNOTATIONS

Throughout the world the special importance attached to the hair is attested in taboos, rites for cutting it, special measures for the disposal of the clippings, as well as in legend (e g Samson) [12] (The ethnological facts concerning the hair can be summarized by the statement that the hair is considered the seat of the soul substance (or at least one of the places where it is localized), that it is a form of the "external soul"[13] and the "procreative life substance" [14]) The Vedic ritual also shows the hair's close association with the vital forces and fertility, as can be seen in the hair-cutting mantras quoted above the sacrificer's lustre (*varcas-*) should not leave him together with the clipped or shaved hair In AV 8, 2, 17 the same wish is expressed with regard to the vital energy (*a)ur-*) JB 2, 204 associates the hair with *śri-*, an invigorating, vitalizing force [15] A person's prosperity can be impaired by burying his (or her) hair under three stones, as Kauś 36, 17 prescribes, the following sūtra gives a rite to counteract such proceedings the priest can bury and then dig up again the hair of his client with the formula "that fortune of thine which they have buried in a pile of three or four stones, that we now dig up along with *offspring and wealth*" It stands to reason that hair clippings should be carefully disposed of The hair shaved on various occasions prescribed in the domestic ritual is to be deposited, often mixed with cow dung, at such places as the root of an udumbara tree, a tuft of darbha grass, a pond or in the vicinity of water, a cowsbed, a place rich in trees and plants [16] All of these are places where the powers of fertility are most manifest. The disposal of the hair clippings at such places seems to the present writer to reveal the concern for giving them a place in the fertility processes so as not to lose the vital force inherent in them This concern is patent in the

[11] Śalīki also holds that the kesavapaniya constitutes the last Soma festival cf Baudh 26 2 274 5 MS s rajasuya brahmana also does not mention any more Soma festivals

[12] To this effect cf e g the facts assembled by Frazer, *Golden Bough* abridged edition p 231 ff Also *Aberglauben* 3, p 1259ff *ERE* 6, p 474ff

[13] Cf e g v d Leeuw *Religion*, p 286

[14] Cf R B Onians *Origins of European Thought* pp 109ff 130f , 231ff

[15] "The head is (the seat of) the *śrī* , the *śrī* goes to the head of the consecrated person (*suṣvana-*) if he would shave his hair before a year were over he would shave the *śrī* , not the hair, but in that he shaves his hair after the lapse of a year, he, having gathered the *śrī* in himself by means of (the revolution of) the year shaves his hair, not his *śrī* " On *śrī* as an invigorating force cf J Gonda *Viṣṇuism* pp 176-212, esp p 208ff

[16] Cf ĀpGS 4 10 8, HirGS 2 6 13, 1 9 18 PārGS 2 1 23 ManGS 1,21, 11 Kaus 54, 20

sixth of the hair-cutting mantras " depositing them on the force-imparting (*vir)akṛt-*) bunch of darbha grass, unite him (the sacrificer) with virility (*pauṃsya*) and lustre (*varcas*)". In other words the placing of the sacrificer's hair on the force imparting darbha bunch is tantamount to the promotion of his procreative force If it may be assumed that the seventh mantra refers also to the disposal of the clipped hair, the words "deposit, O Aśvins, this as form (*rupa*) in the women, unite him with virility and lustre", speak for themselves [17]

On the other hand, however, the hair is considered the "dead impure skin", which the sacrificer must discard in order to become fit for the sacrifice [18] Thus it is natural that the cutting of the hair and shaving are an essential part of initiatory and consecratory rites, which, as is well known, purport to procure renewal of life, and at which one so to say 'changes one's skin" Thus the hair shows the same polarity as has often been seen to be inherent in substances and powers concerned with fertility and procreation it is at once a form of the procreative life substance and "dead and impure skin" In the ritual hair-cutting both aspects are in evidence the discarded dead skin, like the embryonic cover often met with in the foregoing chapters, is not annihilated but disposed of in such a way as to become the germ of new generation and thus to promote the *sacrificer's welfare*

For the understanding of the ideas underlying the hair-cutting ritual it must be taken into account that it is performed periodically This periodicity may be observed in the domestic ritual where hair-cutting is performed both at the beginning and at the end of studentship,[19] while for the śrauta ritual we have the evidence of the four monthly sacrifices after each of which the sacrificer has his hair cut or shaved It may also be considered significant that the Soma sacrificer is shaved both at the beginning (dikṣa) and at the end of the Soma festival [20] It is perhaps not without importance that the Soma festival – at least its basic form, the agniṣṭoma – is considered ' of equal measure with the year",[21] thus the shaving of the Soma sacrificer seems to be connected with the periods joining the subsequent

[17] Cf also the custom observed among the North America Tlingit Indians the hair and nails of a beloved dead person are put by a girl of his clan just reaching maturity, in her girdle, then having undertaken a vow of fasting for eight months, she prays that the dead person be born again from her and that she will marry well and live a good life (cf *ERE* 6 p 477)

[18] Cf TS 6 1 1 2 MS 3 6 2 60 17

[19] Hillebrandt *Ritualliteratur*, pp 51 61

[20] Cf *CH pp 11 and 407*

[21] PB 4 2,12 cf also TB 1 2,2 1, AB 4,12 4

long haired one as a cosmic man who encompasses both worlds (v 1) and inhabits the eastern as well as the western Ocean (v 5), while RV. 1, 164, 44 speaks of three such beings, alluding, as it seems, to the gods presiding over the three worlds (earth, atmosphere, sky) Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya The first of these three long haired ones is there said to shave (himself)[24] at the end of the year[25] If the *keśin* is to be considered a human ecstatic[26] it would perhaps not be unreasonable to suppose that he strives to conform to the model of a *primordial cosmic man*, whose long hairedness may be taken to refer to his being a store of procreative life substance However this may be, it will be interesting to note that the king, who in fact is represented in the ritual as a cosmic being, shows a great resemblance to the *keśin* , or his divine prototype, in that he lets his hair grow long cutting it at the end of the year, like the first of the three long haired ones ched above

Another such being is the *brahmacarin* of AV 11, 5, who has much in common with the *keśin* he has a loag beard and passes in a day from the eastern to the western Ocean (v 6) It seems to be a fair conclusion that the ideas which have given shape to the *kesin-* and the *brahmacarin-* are also given expression by the king as represented in the rājasuya The *brahmacarin* hymn states that it is by *brahmacarya* and *tapas* that the king protects his realm (v 17) Now *brahmacarya* and *tapas-* seem exactly to be the purport of the observances to which the king is subject during the year preceding the hair-cutting festival By these observances, the most important of which is the interdiction to have his hair cut, the king protects the realm, that is he enacts, as has been seen above, the universal fertility process and secures its safe issue

The conduct prescribed for the king during the year between the unction and the hair-cutting festival can also be summarized as a dikṣa[27] Thus the king like the normal dikṣita, should sleep in the fire hut and is forbidden sexual intercourse according to the rules laid down by Lāṭy When after a year the hair is cut or shaved the dikṣa and *tapas* are released, as is indicated by the second and third of the shaving mantras

[24] *vapate* Sayaṇa takes it to mean that this *keśin* , Agni shaves the earth.

[25] *saṃvatsare* Sāyaṇa *saṃvatsare 'tite sati* Geldner however less convincingly im Laufe des Jahres

[26] Cf Oldenberg *R d V* p 404 J W Hauer, *Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Berlin Stuttgart Le pzig 1922) p 169ff the same *Der Vrātya* (Stuttgart, 1924) p 324ff also E Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala 1922) who thinks that *keśin-* here refers to Rudra and his worshippers (p 298ff)

[27] The *brahmacārin* is described as a *dikṣita-* in AV 11 5 6 On the connection of the dīkṣā with the practises of the *keśin-* and with the *tapas* , cf Oldenberg, *R.d V* , p 404ff

The brahman power without which "there is no cessation of the *tapas*-" might be taken to refer to the razor which is considered by ŚB 2, 6, 4, 5 a form of the brahman power Viewed in this way the year after the unction links up with the year preceding it The sequence dikṣā year – unction – dikṣā year seems to represent a rounded-off slice of what in the first instance can be conceived of as an unending sequence Though the hair-cutting festival seems only to be concerned with the cutting of the hair, its resemblance to the rājābhiṣeka suggests that it originally will have been a full-fledged royal consecration which consequently was to be followed by yet another dikṣā-like period and so forth [28]

If indeed the year-long observances of the king are tantamount to a renewed dikṣā, this means that the king is again reduced to the embryonic state characteristic of the dikṣita, to be gestated during a year and then to be born again This conclusion is supported by what has been seen to be the character of the unction which not only means birth but also death, re-entering the womb It has been seen that the king, like his prototypes Indra and Varuna, disintegrates by the effect of the unction waters and is then in a series of offerings, the saṃsṛps, mimicking the course of the year, pieced together again The year preceding the hair-cutting festival seems to be a duplicate of this saṃsṛp "year", the keśavapanīya year is marked by the yoking offerings, which, like the saṃsṛps, can be considered the ritual representations of a victorious march by which the universe is encompassed That indeed the keśavapanīya year and the saṃsṛp "year" are duplicates becomes evident on considering that the king, having mounted to the zenith directly before the unction (mounting of the quarters of space), descends to the earth in two ways first, after the saṃsṛp and daśapeya rites by means of the offerings of the quarters of space, and then again by the liturgical arrangement of the keśavapanīya, the lauds of which are based on decreasing numbers of verses " just as he would descend (from a tree) catching hold of branch after branch" [29]

The above considerations may be summarized by saying that the king, as a cosmic being, enacts the cosmical rhythm of birth and death, integration and disintegration, ascension and descent To this end he is reduced to the embryonic conditions of the dikṣita, maturing during a year-long gestation towards a new birth, and then re-entering the womb, so as to ensure the safe development of the same processes in the universe

[28] The fact that the keśavapanīya is followed by other festivals might be taken to point to a pattern of periodically recurrent rites.

[29] PB 18 10 10 the ascension to heaven and descent to the earth along a tree is a well known shamanistic symbol, cf M Eliade, *Le Chamanisme* (Paris, 1951) pp 120, 125f., 362ff

XXVIII

CONCLUDING SOMA FESTIVALS

(*VYUṢṬIR DVIRĀTRAḤ, KṢATRASYA DHṚTIḤ*)

TB 1 8 10
Baudh. 12,20 tt7 t3–118 8 Āp 18,22,12 22, Hir t3,7 31–33, Kāty t5 9,22 26

The rajasuya could, according to Katy 15, 9, 26, be closed with the hair cutting festival [1] As to the Yajus texts, the two last festivals are only mentioned in the sūtras and in an appendix to the rajasuya portion of the TB They are however, prescribed by brahmana texts of the liturgical specialists [2] Possibly they formed originally part of a form of the rajasuya, the stages of which were marked by Soma festivals, and which was, at the time of the fixation of the srauta ritual, united with a rajasuya formed from other elements This would also account for the fact that the raja suya seems to have two introductions the introductory Soma festival (not mentioned by the ŚB by TB and MS only in an appendix to their rajasuya portions) and the iṣṭis for Anumati Nirṛti and other divinities, while the insertion of the consecratory rites in the Soma paradigma points to the same conclusion [3]

The first of these two festivals is the two day Soma festival called dawn (*vyuṣṭi dvirātra*) The first day is celebrated as an agniṣṭoma, the second as an overnight Soma sacrifice (*atiratra*) [4] The first day of this festival should fall on a new moon day or a full moon day, or the festival may be celebrated on two subsequent days of a fortnight of waxing moon It also occurs as a separate Soma festival[5] to be performed by one who wishes to obtain offspring and its liturgical features are so designed as to symbolize pairing [6] Its *purpose is to guarantee continuity* and to make

[1] Cf also Baudh 26,2 274 5
[2] JB 2,205–6 PB 18 11 5–11 The PB mentions, however only the vyuṣṭi dviratra.
[3] The existence of a rājasuya without Soma festivals is evidenced by the so-called Somasava, cf Āp 22,25 10
[4] For the atirātra cf Āp 14 3 8ff
[5] Āp 22,14 17
[6] Cf JB. 2,205

the sacrificer pass safely through the joints dividing the time units ' This two day sacrifice (is called) "the dawn", (the priest) makes it dawn (again and again) for him" [7] Perhaps this festival was originally connected with the turning of the year, securing by its two days the passing from the old year into the new year At least the stress laid on the number seven-hundred and twenty, being the total amount of stotriyā verses of the two days and thus identifying the festival with the total number of days and nights of the year, may suggest so [8]

The second festival, the "wielding of power ' (*kṣatrasya dhṛti*),[9] is the exact counterpart of the introductory Soma festival and thus closes the cycle of the rājasuya's Soma festivals [10]

The end of the rājasuya is formed, according to Baudh , by the offerings to the devikās and the three-layered ṣṭi already dealt with before [11]

After the rajasūya, as after other royal sacrifices (e g the horse sacrifice), the surā festival (*sautramani*) is to be performed [12]

[7] PB 18 11 11 Cf also PB 18 11 8 TB 1 8 10,2 where it is said that the sacrificer by means of this two-day sacrifice becomes firmly established separately in two halves of the month or in two months

[8] Cf PB 18 11 6 JB 2,205 TB 1 8 10

[9] Hir has *kṣatrāṇām dhṛti* JB 2,206 *kṣetrāṇām dhṛti*

[10] With this festival JB. 2,206 and Śāṅkh. 15 16 10–12 connect a semihistorical legend of the expulsion of the Kuru from Kurukṣetra "The Kuru having lost Kurukṣetra (cf TB. 1 8,4 on the yearly wanderings of the Kuru Pañcālas) the Salvas (are settled) in Kurukṣetra", as the JB teaches. According to JB the expulsion was brought about by the omission of the kṣatrasya dhṛti (cf PB which does not mention this festival) JB describes this festival as having three types of stoma (l ke the introductory Soma festival) Śāṅkh., however teaches that it should include four types of stoma its being performed as a tristoma was according to this authority the reason for the defeat of the Kurus.

[11] The three-layered iṣṭi is also prescribed by Kāty 15 10,25 Cf also Vārāha 3,3 4 50 who prescribes the devikā offerings, the devasū offerings and the iṣṭi for Agni Vaiśvānara and Varuṇa as concluding rites.

[12] For a brief account of the sautrāmaṇi cf Hillebrandt, *Ritual literatur* p 159ff , Dumont, *Aśvamedha* nos. 666–675

EPILOGUE

To wind up the discussion of the rajasūya an attempt may be made to recapitulate its most salient points and briefly to sketch the view it affords of the śrauta ritual as a whole

In the first place it is to be stressed once again that the rajasūya is not a royal consecration in the sense of a ceremony performed once and for all, to bestow royal power on a king Its character can best be understood when compared with the yearly festivals known in Hinduism as *utsava* – the rajasuya is also a *sava* by means of which the powers active in the universe are regenerated This can appear from a brief survey of the successive ceremonies As has been seen they cluster round the turning of the year and are all in some way or other concerned with the regeneration of the year which is conceived of both as an actual time unit and as a cosmological entity First there is a fortnight occupied by an introductory Soma festival and a series of iṣṭis At the end of this preparatory period which represents the new birth on the day of full moon in the month Phalguna (or Caitra) begins a year marked by the four monthly sacrifices This year is closed by a sacrifice presided over by Indra Śunasīra (Indra with the plough) which is intended to obtain the thirteenth month this thirteenth month symbolizes the new year it is the embryo of the year and at the same time as great as the year itself Thus at the end of the caturmasya year the year and with it the whole universe is regenerated Similar ideas especially the safeguarding of the new birth from inimical powers (*rakṣas*) have been seen to be expressed by the offerings immediately following this sacrifice (*indratanya pance dhanya apamarga homa*) The purpose of the subsequent offerings to the devikas (the male Dhatṛ and his four female partners) clearly is to set in motion the year and the exhausted powers of fertility These offerings are supplemented by the triṣamyukta offerings which are concerned with fertility and procreation and the offerings to Agni Vaiśvanara and Varuna which serve the purpose of the regeneration of the year and of the king who at the end of the year is said to lose his teeth Next to these offerings come the sacrifices in the houses of the ratnins being according to the Taittiriyakas twelve in number they are connected by the TB with

from sky to earth and back again The king is, however, not only the centre and pivot of the universe, he is the universe itself, he has been seen to encompass, like the cosmic man Prajāpati, the universe in respect both to space and to time He is not conceived of as a static image of the cosmic structure, he impersonates the cosmic tide of regeneration and decay Like the cosmic pillar he rises to the summit of the universe and descends again against the raising of his arms stands their lowering, he mounts by strides to the zenith (mounting of the quarters of space) and descends again after the daśapeya (offerings to the quarters of space), and again at the hair cutting festival where his descent is represented by a peculiar arrangement of the liturgical performances, furthermore the rājasūya as a whole is enclosed between the ascension, represented by the introduct ory Soma festival (*abhyarohaniya*), and the descent, represented by the last Soma festival called by the Vaitāna sūtra *pratyavarohaniya*

Ascension and descent, disintegration and reintegration, chaotic dispersion and re articulated structure, such are the terms of the cosmic rhythm as represented in the different phases of the rājasūya They are epitomized in the king s unction, which has been seen to be at once birth, concentration of the cosmic forces, and death, disintegration The unction is preceded as well as followed by a year of dikṣa (respectively the unction dikṣa and the diksa like observances) or by a year long course through the universe (respectively four monthly sacrifices and "yoking" offerings or saṃsṛpa), encompassing and re articulating its elements It would therefore appear to the present writer that the unction exemplifies the cosmic role of the king on the joint between two subsequent time cycles, having encompassed and articulated the universe during the course of the preceding time cycle, he emerges from his dikṣa that is his embryonic state to be born, but at the same time he dies and disintegrates, to ripen during another year long dikṣā (or to be recomposed by a course through the universe) towards a new birth at the end of the next time cycle when the same process starts all over again In other words the king as represented in the rajasuya, is the incorporation of the universe's moving forces "boom to bust, and boom again "

In the rajasuya different rites or rather cycles of rites have been moulded into a unified pattern Thus a scheme consisting of iṣṭis seems to have been doubled by a scheme of Soma festivals and intervening dikṣa periods the introductory Soma sacrifice, the year long dikṣa before the unction, and the year long dikṣa like observances following the unction can be set against respectively the eight iṣṭis for Anumati and other divinities the four monthly sacrifices and the ' yoking ' offerings Instructive

in this respect are also the different ceremonies which were intended to frame the unction the devasu offerings and the sacrifice of a sutavaśā cow, both of which lost their connection with the unction itself, eventually the unction was framed in the Soma paradigma and in an iṣṭi for the Maruts There are also traces of a connection of the unction with the sura ritual (the eating of young barley sprouts, the tiger skin with the piece of lead) Possibly the religious interests of different circles were united in the final shaping of the rajasuya This might also account for the fact that in different phases various gods come to the fore as the divine prototypes of kingship In the first place there is Soma presiding over the Somic festivals These festivals are in themselves fully expressive of the cosmic kingship as outlined above, as their concern with the death and regeneration of "king Soma" shows, moreover it is to be considered that their basic form, the agniṣṭoma, is in the first instance an annual spring festival [1] On several occasions, especially at his proclamation, the king seems to be identified with king Soma Also Varuna plays an important part After him the rajasuya is styled Varunasava, and the king is anointed as Varuna, from his cult the aquatic form of the rajasuya unction seems to originate In the sacrifice of the barren cow and in some other rites, such as the indraturiya and the ratnin offerings, the attention is focussed on Indra as the royal prototype with whom the king is identified Possibly he presided over one of the precursors of the present rajasūya, as also over the various unction ceremonies described in the eighth book of the Aitareya Brahmana Another trace of his former pre eminence can perhaps be observed in the equation of the rajasuya with the slaying of Vṛtra, Indra's characteristic feat Also the cult of Agni another king of the gods – he is especially referred to as such in the iṣṭi for Agni Vaiśvanara – seems to have contributed to the rajasūya, as may appear from the, unfortunately rather scanty, references to the *puruagni* in the chariot drive and the dicing ceremony Though these gods are intertwined in Vedic mythology and their cults are by no means mutually exclusive, they have not, as might be expected, been moulded into a unified pattern of mutually complementing aspects of cosmic kingship The references to them rather bear witness to the rhapsodic character of the rajasūya which in fact can be viewed as an encyclopaedic conglomerate of royal rites If one would ask which is the deity presiding over the rajasuya, there can be only one answer the king who by virtue of the ritual realizes his inherent identity with the cosmos and its processes The

[1] Cf H Hubert M Mauss, *Essai sur la nature du sacrifice* (Mélanges d'histoire des religions Paris 1909) p 19, CH p 1

stature of the king completely overshadows the gods who are only concerned with limited spheres of action, and who are on several occasions integrated into the person of the king

If then the king occupies a position of such overriding importance, it is strange that the śrauta ritual as a whole does not offer much scope for a royal cult, or for "sacra publica" *centred on* the king In the śrauta ritual the king is just a sacrificer, on equal footing with any commoner who can afford to have a sacrifice performed On the other hand, however, it would seem to the present writer that the idea of cosmic kingship forms the core of the whole śrauta ritual and especially of the Soma ritual [*] The common sacrificer gains power over the universe and its processes, and identifies himself with them in the same way as does the king In the preceding chapters, moreover, there are some royal rites which not only correspond to *general śrauta rites but in point of fact seem to have been* the prototypes of these general rites I refer to the preparation of the royal sacrificer for his unction which in some respects may well have stood as model of the dikṣa the dicing ceremony of the rajasūya shows some features suggestive of its being more original or even the prototype of the same ceremony at the laying out of the sacrificial fires Most important is also the daśapeya which probably represents a more original form of the Soma sacrifice as a rite of Somic communion between the king the people and the brahmins

The distinctive feature of Indian kingship is the intimate connection of royal and priestly power the marriage-like bond between the king and a brahmin, his purohita The brahman power has been seen to be the womb from which again and again the royal power comes forth Between them the king and the purohita regulate the course of the universe There is however, yet another not less important marriage like bond, the one established between the king and the people, the *viś* The king is generally known as the *viśpati*, the lord of the people, who as the impregnator goes into the people and is reborn from it as the embryo of the people (*viśaṃ garbha*) Now the daśapeya seems to have been a ceremony celebrating the marriage-like bond between king and people It still shows the character of a "*sacrum publicum*" in which the people fully participated The elaboration and refining of the ritual technique, however, could not but turn it into the exclusive domain of the ritual specialists, the brahmins Thus the people became gradually excluded from the ritual in which it could no longer participate The relation king

[*] On the royal essence of the śrauta ritual cf also P Mus Barabudur, *BEFEO* 33 (1934) p 790f

people was ruled out of the game in favour of the relation king-brahman. The royal ritual became a private rite. In the course of its elaboration the *ritual, borrowing its materials and ideas from the royal cult, developed* into a highly refined autonomous machinery, replacing kingship as the central agency of the cosmic processes and generalizing the king into the *yajamāna-*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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AB	Aitareya brāhmaṇa
Āp [1]	Āpastamba srautasutra
Āsv [1]	Āsvalayana śrautasūtra
AV	*Atharvaveda saṃhita*
BAU	Brhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad
Baudh [1]	Baudhayana śrautasutra
BlYV	Black Yajur Veda
ChUp.	Chandogya upaniṣad
GobhGS	Gobhila gṛhyasutra
GB, GopB	Gopatha brahmaṇa
Hir [1]	Hiraṇyakesi gṛhyasutra
JB	Jaiminiya brahmaṇa (Raghu Vira – Lokesh Chandra, *Jaiminiya Brāhmana of the Samaveda, Sarasvati Vihara Series*, vol 31 (Nagpur 1954) Auswahl Caland's partly edition and translation)
JUB	Jaiminiya upaniṣad brāhmaṇa
Katy	Katyayana śrautasūtra
KB	Kauṣitaki brahmaṇa
KS	Kaṭhaka-saṃhita
Kauś	Kausika sutra
KauṣUp	*Kauṣitaki upaniṣad*
Laty	Laṭyayana śrautasutra
Man(ava)[1]	Mānava srautasutra
Mhbh	Mahabharata
MS	Maitrāyaṇi-saṃhita
ParGS	Pāraskara gṛhyasutra
PB	Pañcaviṃśa brahmaṇa
RV	Ṛgveda saṃhita
ṢaḍvB	Ṣaḍviṃśa brahmaṇa
Śaṅkh [1]	Śaṅkhāyana śrautasūtra
ŚB	Śatapatha brahmaṇa
SV	Samaveda-saṃhitā
TĀ	Taittiriya araṇyaka
TB	Taittiriya brahmaṇa
TS	Taittiriya saṃhita
Vādh	Vādhūla-sūtra
Vait.	Vaitāna sūtra

[1] *When GS is added to this abbreviation the reference is to the Gṛhyasūtra.*

VS	Vajasaneyi-saṃhitā
WhYV	White Yajur Veda
Varaha	Varāha-śrautasūtra

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